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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Helen E. Garrison.

MY COUNTRY IS THE WORLD:
MY COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

1805-1879

THE STORY OF HIS LIFE

TOLD BY HIS CHILDREN

VOLUME II. 1835-1840

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

CHAPTER I.

THE BOSTON MOB (SECOND STAGE).—1835.

CHAP. I. 1835.

IT was now time for Mr. Garrison to descend into that seething *mari magno* which, from the tranquil haven of Friendship's Valley, he had calmly regarded for a full month. Leaving Brooklyn, in company with his wife, on September 24, 1835, he spent the following day in Providence, and reached Boston at noon on the 26th. He found there this greeting from David Lee Child, written at New York on the 23d:

MS.

"Be of good cheer. The Devil comes not out without much tearing and rending and *foaming at the mouth*. With all my confidence in my abolition brothers and sisters, you are the only one on whom I entirely rely for *pine-and-faggot* virtue—not that I trust others less, but that I trust you more. The Southerners are mad past all precedent. The famous spouter, Governor Hamilton, is here, supposed for the countenancing and organizing of kidnappers and assassins. This is hardly credible, yet it is believed. The report now goes that $100,000 is the prize for Arthur Tappan's head, and that *two* vessels are in the offing to receive him.

"'Catch a fish before you cook it,
Said the learned Mother Glass.'"

On October 2, Mr. Garrison writes to G. W. Benson:

MS. "I have not got regulated yet, since my return from rusticating in the country, and I already begin to sigh for the quietude and (selfish ease will out) *irresponsibleness* of Friendship's Valley. . . . Boston is beginning to sink into apathy. The reaction has come rapidly, but we are trying to get the steam up again. We have held two public meetings, which were well attended, and all went off quietly."

Lib. 5:159, 163; *Right and Wrong in Boston*, 1836, (1) *pp.* 8, 9.

And still the South awaited the sign that the North — that Boston — would not put her off with empty words.

Lib. 5:131, 132. The "vagabond" Thompson, as the Boston *Transcript* called him — the "wandering insurrectionist" — first began after the Faneuil Hall meeting to experience the deadly hostility invoked against him there. From his

Lib. 5:2. peaceful labors in the "Old Colony" and its vicinity, at the close of 1834, he had passed in January to Andover, where he had the ear of the theological and academical students; to Concord, Mass.; to various parts of Essex County, where the meeting-houses of Methodists, Baptists, Unitarians and Friends were opened to him. In the intervals of these excursions he spoke frequently in Boston. In February, accompanied by the Rev. Amos A. Phelps and by Henry Benson, he visited southern New Hampshire and Portland, Maine, still enjoying the hospitality of the churches and promoting new anti-slavery organizations. Thence he proceeded in the same month to New York, where he spoke for the first time since his arrival in America, in the Rev. Dr. Lansing's church, without molestation or disorder of any kind; in March, to Philadelphia, giving an address in the Reformed Presbyterian Church, after an introduction by David Paul Brown. Repairing to Boston for lectures and debates in the Anti-Slavery Rooms, he returned to New York in company with Mr. Garrison. In April he was again in Boston, using the only church open to him (the Methodist Church in Bennett Street) for a Fast-Day and other discourses, and a third time in New York, forming *en route* a female anti-slavery society in the

CHAP. I. 1835.

Providence Pine-Street Baptist Church; and then, once more with Messrs. Phelps and Benson for companions, he journeyed to Albany and Troy, where his success warranted a long sojourn. In the second week in May we find him attending the anniversary meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York, which were held in perfect security despite a placard intended to renew the scenes of October, 1833; in the last week, participating in the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston, and, at the very close, holding in Julien Hall a debate with Gurley on the subject of colonization. His June campaign was made in the already well-worked field of Essex County, and thither he was recalled in July by the presence of Gurley in Andover. Nowhere had the interest and excitement produced by Mr. Thompson's eloquence been more intense, or the struggle severer, than on this occasion. But, though backed by Amos A. Phelps, he could not prevail against the alliance of Gurley with Professor Stuart to maintain the settled hostility of this theological centre.

Lib. 5: 117.

Lib. 5: 89.

The quiet temper of the public mind was destroyed as in an instant by the Charleston bonfire and its imitations at the North — the town meetings in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and elsewhere, all concentrating their indignation and malice on the "imported travelling incendiary." At a convention in Lynn on August 5, a stone meant for Mr. Thompson was thrown through the window and struck a lady in the audience. The next evening he lectured again, and was mobbed by three hundred disturbers, from whom he only escaped by accepting the escort of ladies.[1] Unable to remain in New York, whither on the 12th he accompanied Mr. and Mrs. D. L. Child despite the remonstrances of his friends, his first test of the New England temper after the signal had been given from Faneuil Hall proved how much it had

Lib. 5: 145.

MS. Aug. 7, 1835, *Henry to G. W. Benson.*

[1] A similar experience, in Julien Hall, is related on p. 248 of Mrs. Child's 'Letters,' a plot to kidnap Mr. Thompson being foiled by a stratagem of the ladies present. See, also, p. 1 of Boston *Commonwealth*, Oct. 23, 1880.

CHAP. I. 1835.

changed for the worse towards himself. The attack on him at Concord (N. H.), on September 4, followed close upon the mobbing of Mr. May at Haverhill, Mass.; on September 17, the Brighton-Street gallows was set up before his late residence in Boston; on September 27, an extraordinary onslaught was made on him in the rural village of Abington, Mass.

Lib. 5: 163; *May's Recollections*, p. 123.

At this time, too, a stupid or wilful perversion, by an Andover student from the South, named Kaufman, of Mr. Thompson's remarks in a private discussion on slavery, added fuel to the flames of his persecution. He was accused of having said that the slave masters ought to have their throats cut, and that the slaves should be taught so. What he was arguing was, that if it was ever right to rise forcibly against oppressors, the slaves had that right — a commonplace of anti-slavery doctrine, now become one of the axioms of the civilized world. Finally, a trumped-up affidavit before some American consul pretended that Thompson had, for felony, come near being transported to Botany Bay. So the uproar went on. Subscriptions to a fund for procuring the heads of Garrison, Thompson and Tappan were invited to be made at a bookstore (!) in Norfolk, Va. Money rewards for the same object were offered from all parts of the South. Northern tradesmen were threatened with loss of Southern patronage, or with destruction of their Southern branch establishments, if they were known to be friendly to the abolitionists — if they did not come out against them — if abolitionists were permitted to hold meetings or publish papers in the town where the merchant did business.

Lib. 5: 159, 194; 6: 42; *Thompson's Letters and Addresses*, pp. 93-98.

Lib. 5: 194.

Lib. 5: 148, 149, 152, 165.

This chord was as effectively touched in the case of Boston as of any commercial city, and "A Calm Appeal" of the Richmond *Enquirer* "to put down forever these wanton fanatics," had the maddening influence which was calculated for it. This article, highly prophetic in its picture of a future civil war between the States, following Southern secession in defence of

Lib. 5: 149.

slavery,[1] warned the North against the slightest interference with that institution; urged total non-intercourse, social or commercial, with the incendiaries; and inquired — CHAP. I. 1835.

"Why, above all, does not Massachusetts, with whom Virginia sympathized so keenly in the days of the Boston Port Bill, drive that audacious foreigner from her bosom who is so grossly abusing the rights of hospitality, to throw our country into confusion? It is outrageous enough for Tappan and for Garrison to be throwing firebrands into the South — but for that impertinent intruder, Thompson, to mingle in our institutions; for that foreigner, who has nothing *American* about him, in name, interest or principle — the outrage exceeds all the bounds of patience." *Lib.* 5:149.

The Boston *Commercial Gazette* promptly caught up the proposal of non-intercourse with abolitionists. Still more promptly, the Boston *Centinel* declared that Thompson would never be allowed to address another meeting in this country. *Lib.* 5:157. *Lib.* 5:153.

The Boston abolitionists had behaved during this trying season with circumspection. After the Faneuil Hall demonstration, Mayor Lyman had, in a courteous if not friendly manner, privately counselled them to discontinue their meetings while the public mind was so heated, at the same time assuring them that he would protect them in their rights if they chose to exercise them. They in fact held only their constitutionally stated meetings, and it was one of these which fell due on Wednesday, October 14, the anniversary of the formation of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. Congress (formerly Julien) Hall was the place selected, and public notice was given in the papers and from several pulpits, including Dr. Channing's, in which the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., happened to officiate.[2] "Ladies generally" were invited *Lib.* 5:191; *Right and Wrong in Boston*, 1836, (1) *p.* 8.

[1] "The Potomac may be the dividing line, and she [Virginia] will become the border State. Her rivers would bristle with entrenchments, and her fields be turned into battle-grounds."

[2] His imprudence or inadvertence in reading the notice caused great commotion in Dr. Channing's congregation (*Lib.* 5:166), and in the newspapers.

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to attend, and ladies only; and an address was promised from George Thompson.

Oct. 12, 1835. *Lib.* 5: 165.

The *Commercial Gazette* of Monday affected great indignation at this simple announcement, wondering "that Thompson should dare to browbeat public opinion in this way." Remarking on his habit of protecting himself with petticoats, it urged his being taught that a female surrounding would no longer shield him from the consequences of his "reckless and wicked conduct." Faneuil Hall meetings will be of no use "if Thompson, Garrison, and their vile associates in this city are to be permitted to hold their meetings in the broad face of day, and to continue their denunciations against the planters of the South. They must be put down if we would preserve our consistency." Why does Thompson persist in "driving [our citizens] to acts of lawless violence?" Predicting trouble on Wednesday, the *Gazette* added: "This resistance will not come from a *rabble*, but from men of property and standing, who have a large interest at stake in this community, and who are determined, let the consequences be what they may, to put a stop to the impudent, bullying conduct of the foreign vagrant, Thompson, and his associates in mischief." The *Gazette* warned ladies to keep away from the tumult, and threatened that if Thompson appeared he should be lynched.

Ante, p. 3.

Right and Wrong in Boston, 1836, (1) p. 10.

Such a menace naturally alarmed the proprietor and the lessee of Congress Hall, and, explicitly adopting the *Gazette's* view of the respectable character of the mob, they required heavy bonds against possible damages in case of a riot. As this hall was the only one procurable, the Society gave notice on the appointed day that the meeting would be postponed. The *Courier*, however, on the morning of the 14th, aggravated the criminality of the *Gazette* by a fresh incitement to violence, under pretence of diverting indignation from the "scoundrel" and "vagabond" Thompson to "our own citizens who associate with him." "He is paid for his services, and is

Lib. 5: 167.

only fulfilling his part of a contract. . . . The poor devil must live."[1]

This prepared the disorderly to place credence in false announcements, posted at Congress Hall and elsewhere, to the effect that the ladies were actually in session, and Thompson speaking, at Ritchie Hall. By a coincidence the Ladies' Moral Reform Society was assembled there, and the crowd of "patriotic citizens" misled thither persisted in identifying it with the obnoxious organization; besieging the doors and stairway and demanding Thompson, till dispersed by the arrival of the Mayor. The *Gazette*, however, treated the affair as a successful attempt to suppress Thompson, and reported (from its inner consciousness) that on the Mayor's complaint he had been bound over to keep the peace, "though the 'citizens generally' would like to *use him up* in some other way"; and (on the same authority) that rioters had followed him to Abington (October 15) in order to prevent his speaking there again. This hint was not taken, and Mr. Thompson was undisturbed by local or imported ruffianism.

Lib. 5: 166; *Right and Wrong in Boston*, 1836, (1) *p.* 18.

The next advertisement of the meeting postponed from Congress Hall named as the appointed time Wednesday afternoon, October 21, at 3 o'clock, and the place the hall adjoining the Anti-Slavery Office at 46 Washington Street. "Several addresses" were promised, but

[1] The editor of the *Courier*, too, had to live; witness the following letter to Francis Jackson (MS.):

Courier Office, June 1, 1847.

DEAR SIR: It would give me pleasure to oblige you by inserting your communication, *if I could afford it.* It would probably cost me two or three hundred dollars — a sum much beyond what I am able to lose, to say nothing of what damage a jury might award in case of a suit for libel. I am sorry that my position does not permit me to publish all that I think right; but it is a position from which I cannot escape without making sacrifices which I know you would not wish me to suffer.

This is for your own private information.

Respectfully your friend,

JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM.

no names were mentioned. Mr. Thompson's presence
Lib. 5:179. was not "deemed to be essential or expedient, either by himself or the Society. He therefore left the city on Tuesday, that there might be no pretext for causing an interruption of the meeting on the ensuing day." On the morning of Wednesday Mr. Garrison attended Henry Benson to the cars for Providence, placing in his hands a letter addressed to George Benson, of which the following extracts were a part:

MS. Boston, Oct. 21, 1835. "My health has been extremely good since I left Brooklyn, for which, as well as for other mercies, continual gratitude is due to God. My mind is in a peaceful and happy frame; for faith, and hope, and love make it their abode. I desire to cease wholly from man, and to rely upon nothing but the promises of Him who cannot lie. . . .

"The spirit of the Lord is now striving mightily with this nation, and the nation is striving as mightily to quench it; and in doing so, it is revealing to the eyes of an astonished world an amount of depravity and heathenism that makes the name of our Christianity a reproach. Nevertheless, let the worst appear; let not our sin be covered up; let the number of the rebels, and the extent of the rebellion, fully appear; let all that is dangerous, or hypocritical, or unjust among us be proclaimed upon the house-tops; and then the genuine disciples of Christ will be able skilfully and understandingly to carry on the war. A larger number than Gideon had is left to us, and the same omnipotent arm is ready to be bared in our defence."

On parting from his brother-in-law, Mr. Garrison proceeded to the Anti-Slavery Office, and in the course of
Charles B. Wells. Lib. 5:179. the forenoon was visited by a deputy-marshal from the Mayor's office, to inquire whether Mr. Thompson was to address the meeting, or was in town. Mayor Lyman had the day before been petitioned by the occupants of stores in the neighborhood of 46 Washington Street to prevent the meeting, for fear of damage in case of a disturbance. The air was full of gathering violence,
Lib. 5:179. which the Mayor hoped to be able to draw off harmless by the simple announcement to the mob that Thompson

was beyond their reach. Or, if such was not the fact, he wished to be prepared against an outbreak. Mr. Garrison, at first resenting the inquiry, finally assured the deputy that Mr. Thompson was absent, and the Mayor "took, therefore, no other precaution than to have a small number of police officers assembled for the afternoon." Mr. Garrison, on his part, went to his home in Brighton Street, for an early dinner, at which a colored friend from Pittsburgh, Mr. John B. Vashon, was his guest. If their talk turned upon the probability of disorder, the following anonymous warning addressed to the editor of the *Liberator*, and written in a bold hand, threw some light upon the question. The date of its reception cannot now be determined:

Lib. 5: 179, 191; *Garrison Mob*, *pp.* 15, 68.

Lib. 5: 203.

You are hereby notified to remove your office and not to issue the paper any more. If it is issued again beware of yourself you will have a coat of tar and feathers and you will do well if you get your life saved. We shall have no mercy on you after this Notification *Beware*

MS.

THIRTY TRUCKMEN
pr *C. Adams secty.*

Please show Mr Garrison and Thompson this.

In the meantime, about noon, this placard suddenly appeared upon the streets:

THOMPSON,

Lib. 5: 171.

THE ABOLITIONIST !!!

That infamous foreign scoundrel THOMPSON, will hold forth *this afternoon*, at the Liberator Office, No. 48 Washington Street. The present is a fair opportunity for the friends of the Union to *snake Thompson out!* It will be a contest between the Abolitionists and the friends of the Union. A purse of $100 has been raised by a number of patriotic citizens to reward the individual who shall first lay violent hands on Thompson, so that he may be brought to the tar-kettle before dark. Friends of the Union, be vigilant!

Boston, Wednesday, 12 *o'clock.*

CHAP. I. 1835.

The genesis of this murderous incentive is now, by the autographic confession of its author, traceable to the office and the editor of the *Commercial Gazette*. In a letter to a former apprentice, James L. Homer thus describes the circumstances under which the placard was got out—a relation which shows how natural it was for Mr. Garrison to be made (in Mr. Thompson's language) "the vicarious victim of that wrath which has been kindled by the 'foreign emissary'":

MS. Aug. 10, 1858, to Geo. C. Rand.

"The *Gazette* had been for a long time in the habit of abusing the abolitionists, and especially their organ and its leader and director. It was, at times, particularly severe upon the Female Anti-Slavery Society, of which Mrs. Chapman, a very intelligent, respectable, and energetic lady, was one of the main pillars. Indeed, I may say that she was a head and shoulders taller and stronger than any one of her associates in that Society. They had announced their annual meeting for the choice of officers, etc., on the afternoon of a certain day, at the Anti-Slavery Rooms, on Washington Street, near Cornhill. There was much feeling, and much indignation expressed, in private, among business men, in relation to the proposed meeting — the men thinking that *women* ought to be engaged in some better business than that of stirring up strife between the South and the North on this matter of slavery; that they ought to be at home, attending to their domestic concerns, instead of sowing the seeds of political discord in the Anti-Slavery Rooms. Many of 'our first men' decided *that the meeting should not be held*, let the consequences be what they might!

"On the morning of the day of the meeting, I was waited upon by a 'committee of two'—Messrs. Isaac Stevens, now dead, and Isaac Means (who married old Tobias Lord's daughter), both merchants on Central Wharf[1]—who requested me to write, print, and cause to be distributed an inflammatory handbill in relation to the meeting—'something that would wake up the populace'—and they would pay the expense. I complied, most cheerfully, as I considered it, at the moment, as merely a 'business transaction,' and not dreaming that so light a flame would in a few hours produce so threatening a con-

[1] Both, also, signers of the call for the Faneuil Hall meeting. Means was in the West India trade.

CHAP. I.
1835.

flagration in the breasts of the multitude! I wrote the handbill, as 'fast as a horse could trot,' at the *long desk* in the counting-room, while the gentlemen looked over my shoulders. Having finished it and read it to the committee, they pronounced it 'just the thing,' and left, ordering 500 copies of it. The handbill was short, was soon put in type,[1] and by one o'clock the copies had all been distributed — in the insurance offices, the reading-rooms, all along State Street, in the hotels, bar-rooms, etc.; and about one-third of the whole lot was scattered among mechanics at the North End, who were mightily taken with it, as the mob subsequently gave abundant proof. . . . Tom Withington and several of the younger apprentices[2] distributed the handbills. The effect they produced you may remember. By three or four o'clock in the afternoon both sides of State Street, near the Old State House;[3] Washington Street, from Joy's Building to Court Street; the bottom of the latter street up to the Court House, etc., were densely packed with an excited mob, who were determined *that the meeting should not be held.* There were present from six to ten thousand men,[4] including 'many gentlemen of property and influence,' an expression I used the next day in the *Gazette* in an editorial describing the mob."

Such was the situation when Mr. Garrison arrived upon the scene, and his account of the sequel will now be given, with such aids and checks as the best evidence permits. He had consented to address the meeting:

Lib. 5:179.

20th Anniversary Boston Mob, p. 24.

"As the meeting was to commence at 3 o'clock P. M., I went to the hall about twenty minutes before that time.[5] Perhaps a

[1] The proof also was read to a "committee," including among others Henry Williams, a merchant on Central Wharf, and John L. Dimmock, afterwards president of the Shawmut Bank (E. N. Moore, in the Boston *Sunday Budget*, Mar. 18, 1883).

[2] Including E. N. Moore, then a lad of seventeen, who says: "On Chatham Street I left a bill at a famous oil store, and it was caught up by one of the firm, who read it, and loudly shouted for John to get him 'a bucket of green tar, and be ready to tar and feather a —— Abolitionist'" (*Sunday Budget*, Mar. 18, 1883).

[3] The then City Hall and Post-office.

[4] An excessive statement. The throng was variously estimated at from two to five thousand. Homer did not see it, as he confesses in the letter quoted above; but he had "several runners out," — viz.: George C. Rand and E. N. Moore, who struck off the handbill (Boston *Sunday Budget*, Mar. 18, 1883) — who reported "how the battle was going."

[5] According to C. C. Burleigh, who accompanied him, at 2 P. M. (*Lib.* 5:171. Compare 'Right and Wrong in Boston,' 1836, [1] p. 29).

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hundred individuals had already gathered around the street door and opposite the building, and their number was rapidly augmenting. On ascending into the hall,[1] I found about fifteen or twenty ladies assembled,[2] sitting with cheerful countenances, and a crowd of noisy intruders (mostly young men) gazing upon them, through whom I urged my way with considerable difficulty. 'That's Garrison,' was the exclamation of some of these creatures, as I quietly took my seat. Perceiving that they had no intention of retiring, I went to them and calmly said — 'Gentlemen, perhaps you are not aware that this is a meeting of the Boston *Female* Anti-Slavery Society, called and intended exclusively for *ladies*, and those only who have been invited to address them. Understanding this fact, you will not be so rude or indecorous as to thrust your presence upon this meeting. If, *gentlemen*,' I pleasantly continued, 'any of you are *ladies* — in disguise — why, only apprise me of the fact, give me your names, and I will introduce you to the rest of your sex, and you can take seats among them accordingly.' I then sat down, and, for a few moments, their conduct was more orderly. However, the stairway and upper door of the hall were soon densely filled with a brazen-faced crew, whose behavior grew more and more indecent and outrageous.[3]

Right and Wrong, 1836, (1) p. 30.

[1] It was up two flights.

[2] "Mostly white, but some negroes and mulattoes" ('Garrison Mob,' p. 17). The names of some of these can be given: Miss Mary S. Parker, Miss Henrietta Sargent, Miss Martha V. Ball, Miss Elizabeth Whittier, Mrs. Thankful Southwick, Mrs. Lavinia Hilton, Miss Ann Greene Chapman, Miss Anne Warren Weston, Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman. Mrs. Garrison was among those excluded by the mob. She reached Washington Street in sight of it, and was taken by Mr. John E. Fuller to his home, where she passed the night. "Though she was conscious," says her husband, "of the danger to which in all probability I should be exposed, yet she made no plea in advance as to the duty or expediency of my remaining at home, at least for her sake; but with calmness and fortitude was ready to suffer with or for me, as the emergency might require. . . . And . . . on no occasion, however perilous, during the whole anti-slavery conflict, did she ever counsel a less personal exposure or a more moderate course of action on my part" ('Helen Eliza Garrison: a Memorial,' p. 25).

[3] "The tumult continually increased, with horrible execrations, howling, stamping, and finally shrieking with rage. They seemed not to dare to enter, notwithstanding their fury, but mounted on each others' shoulders, so that a row of hostile heads appeared over the slight partition, of half the height of the wall, which divides the Society's rooms from the landing-place. We requested them to allow the door to be shut; but they could not decide as to whether the request should be granted, and the door was opened and shut with violence, till it hung useless from the upper hinge" ('Right and Wrong in Boston,' by Mrs. M. W. Chapman, 1836, [1] p. 30).

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"Perceiving that it would be impracticable for me, or any other person, to address the ladies; and believing, as I was the only male abolitionist in the hall, that my presence would serve as a pretext for the mob to annoy the meeting, I held a short colloquy with the excellent President of the Society, telling her that I would withdraw, unless she particularly desired me to stay. It was her earnest wish that I would retire, as well for my own safety as for the peace of the meeting. She assured me that the Society would resolutely but calmly proceed to the transaction of its business, and leave the issue with God. I left the hall accordingly, and would have left the building[1] if the staircase had not been crowded to excess. This being impracticable, I retired into the Anti-Slavery Office, (which is separated from the hall by a board partition), accompanied by my friend Mr. Charles C. Burleigh.[2] It was deemed prudent to lock the door, to prevent the mob from rushing in and destroying our publications.[3]

Right and Wrong, 1836, (1) *p.* 30.

"In the meantime, the crowd in the street had augmented from a hundred to thousands. The cry was for 'Thompson! Thompson!'—but the Mayor had now arrived, and, addressing the rioters, he assured them that Mr. Thompson was not in the city, and besought them to disperse.[4] As well might he have attempted to propitiate a troop of ravenous wolves. None went away—but the tumult continued momentarily to increase. It was apparent, therefore, that the hostility of the throng was not concentrated upon Mr. Thompson, but that it was as deadly against the Society and the Anti-Slavery cause.[5] This fact is

Garrison Mob, *pp.* 16, 17.

[1] The ladies thought he had done so ('Right and Wrong,' 1836, [1] p. 31).

[2] Besides Mr. Burleigh and Mr. Garrison, the only gentlemen present were Mr. Henry G. Chapman and Dr. Amos Farnsworth, of Groton. The two latter retired from the hall with the expelled ladies.

[3] "I immediately sat down, and wrote to a friend in Providence a description of the incidents of the day as they were transpiring" (W. L. G., '20th Anniversary,' p. 25. So Mr. Burleigh, in *Lib.* 5:171).

[4] This was at the bottom of the lower staircase, where the officers he had previously posted there prevented further ingress of the mob.

[5] "The Mayor ought not to have concerned himself, or cared, whether Mr. Thompson was to be present or absent; nor was it sound policy in him to comply with the demands of the rioters, by assuring them that Mr. Thompson was not in the city. By so doing he weakened his own authority, and strengthened the hands of violence. He erred, also, most grievously—through weakness rather than malice, I doubt not—in assuring them that I had left the building. It was not for them to know whether Mr. Thompson or myself was present—but it was for the Mayor to disperse the mob, and maintain the supremacy of the laws" (*Lib.* 5:191).

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worthy of special note — for it incontestably proves that the object of the 'respectable and influential' rioters was to put down the cause of emancipation, and that Mr. Thompson furnished merely a pretext for five thousand 'gentlemen' to mob thirty Christian women! . . .

"Notwithstanding the presence and frantic behavior of the rioters in the hall, the meeting of the Society was regularly called to order by the President. She then read a select and an exceedingly appropriate portion of Scripture, and offered up a fervent prayer to God for direction and succor, and the forgiveness of enemies and revilers. It was an awful, sublime and soul-thrilling scene — enough, one would suppose, to melt adamantine hearts, and make even fiends of darkness stagger and retreat. Indeed, the clear, untremulous tone of voice of that Christian heroine in prayer occasionally awed the ruffians into silence, and was distinctly heard[1] even in the midst of their hisses, threats, and curses — for they could not long silently endure the agony of conviction, and their conduct became furious. They now attempted to break down the partition, and partially succeeded — but the little band of females still maintained their ground unshrinkingly, and continued to transact their business.

"An assault was now made upon the door of the office, the lower panel of which was instantly dashed to pieces. Stooping down, and glaring upon me as I sat at the desk,[2] writing an account of the riot to a distant friend, the ruffians cried out — 'There he is! That's Garrison! Out with the scoundrel!' &c., &c. Turning to Mr. Burleigh, I said — 'You may as well open the door, and let them come in and do their worst.' But he, with great presence of mind, went out, locked the door, put the key in his pocket, and by his admirable firmness succeeded in keeping the office safe.[3]

[1] Even by Mr. Garrison in the adjoining office, the thinness of the partition permitting. Of this prayer he said, in 1855, "I shall never forget it. It was thrilling beyond description; evincing the utmost trust in God, and complete serenity of soul, as she 'thanked God that while there were many to molest, there were none that could make afraid'" ('20th Anniversary,' p. 25). The point is of importance only because Mr. Garrison's testimony as to what took place in the hall after he left it, has been impugned ('Garrison Mob,' pp. 20, 51). Mr. Burleigh could hear likewise (*Lib.* 5:171).

[2] This was at the front, where the light came from the windows on Washington Street.

[3] A noteworthy example of non-resistance under trying circumstances ('20th Anniversary,' p. 25).

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"Two or three constables having cleared the hall and staircase of the mob,[1] the Mayor came in and *ordered* the ladies to desist, assuring them that he could not any longer guarantee protection[2] if they did not take immediate advantage of the opportunity to retire from the building. Accordingly they adjourned, to meet at the house of one of their number [Mrs. Chapman's, at 11 West Street],[3] for the completion of their

[1] Not yet. "I found twenty or thirty persons (perhaps one half lads) crowding about the door of the room," says the posthumous account of Mayor Lyman ('Garrison Mob,' p. 17). "I was not aware till that time that these individuals were in the building, but I suppose that they entered before Mr. Pollard [one of the Mayor's officers] reached the spot. And in consequence of the dense throng now in front, it was very difficult to get them out." This agrees with Mrs. Chapman's narrative: "The slight partition began to yield. The mob hurled missiles at the lady presiding. The secretary [Miss Ball] rose and began to read her report, utterly inaudible from the confusion. At this moment Mr. Lyman entered" ('Right and Wrong,' 1836, [1] p. 32).

[2] Mrs. Chapman's report reads ('Right and Wrong,' 1836, [1] p. 33):

"*Mr. Lyman.* Go home, ladies, go home.

"*President* [Miss Parker]. What renders it necessary we should go home?

"*Mr. Lyman.* I am the mayor of the city, and I cannot now explain; but will call upon you this evening.

"*President.* If the ladies will be seated [they had been "all seated, except the chairman; but, on speaking to them," says Mayor Lyman, "several rose and came towards me"], we will take the sense of the meeting.

"*Mr. Lyman.* Don't stop, ladies, go home.

"*President.* Will the ladies listen to a letter addressed to the Society by Francis Jackson, Esq. [offering the use of his house for the Society's meeting or meetings]?

"*Mr. Lyman.* Ladies, do you wish to see a scene of bloodshed and confusion? If you do not, go home.

"*One of the Ladies* [Mrs. Chapman]. Mr. Lyman, your personal friends are the instigators of this mob; have you ever used your personal influence with them?

"*Mr. Lyman.* I know no personal friends; I am merely an official. Indeed, ladies, you must retire. It is dangerous to remain.

"*Lady* [Mrs. Chapman]. If this is the last bulwark of freedom, we may as well die here as anywhere.

"*Mr. Lyman.* Do you wish to prolong this scene of confusion? [According to the Mayor's recollection: "I smiled, and replied, 'At any rate they could not die there.'"]

"*President.* Can we pass out safely?

"*Mr. Lyman.* If you will go *now*, I will protect you, but cannot unless you do.

"A motion was then made to adjourn, which was carried. We passed down the staircase amid the manifestations of a revengeful brutality."

[3] But not directly. They went first to Francis Jackson's on Hollis Street, according to his belated invitation. Finding Mrs. Jackson very ill, Mrs.

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business; but as they passed through the crowd they were greeted with taunts, hisses and cheers of mobocratic triumph, from 'gentlemen of property and standing from all parts of the city.'[1]

"Even *their* absence did not diminish the throng. Thompson was not there — the ladies were not there — but '*Garrison* is there!' was the cry. 'Garrison! Garrison! We must have Garrison! Out with him! Lynch him!' These and numberless other exclamations arose from the multitude. For a moment, their attention was diverted from me to the Anti-Slavery sign ["Anti-Slavery Rooms"], and they vociferously demanded its possession. It is painful to state that the Mayor promptly complied with their demand! So agitated and alarmed had he become that, in very weakness of spirit, he ordered the sign to be hurled to the ground,[2] and it was in-

Chapman asked the ladies to turn back to her house, where their officers were duly elected (MS. Nov. 12, 1882).

[1] "When we emerged into the open daylight there went up a roar of rage and contempt, which increased when they saw that we did not intend to separate, but walked in regular procession. They slowly gave way as we came out. As far as we could look either way the crowd extended — evidently of the so-called 'wealthy and respectable'; 'the moral worth,' the 'influence and standing.' We saw the faces of those we had, till now, thought friends; men whom we never before met without giving the hand in friendly salutation; men whom till now we should have called upon for condemnation of ruffianism, with confidence that the appeal would be answered; men who have repeatedly said they were 'as much anti-slavery as we were,' that 'our principles were righteous,' and that they only objected to the rashness of upholding them. Yet they did not, 'like the Priest and the Levite, pass by on the other side,' but waited with looks of satisfaction and approval to see the result" ('Right and Wrong,' 1836, [1] p. 34). With ready forethought, Mrs. Chapman whispered to her associates filing out, while she stood between them and the Mayor: "Two and two, to Francis Jackson's, Hollis Street, each with a colored friend," thus giving what protection a white skin could ensure a dark one (MS. Nov. 12, 1882).

[2] Much controversy has arisen over this allegation and the ensuing censure. Mayor Lyman says ('Garrison Mob,' p. 19), he was afraid the rioters would get to pelting the sign with stones as soon as it became dark, "and from the sign proceed to the windows of the building, and then, perhaps, to the constables and others engaged in maintaining order. I therefore sent a person up the stairs to see if this sign could be taken into the room from the window. Instead of that being done, the man was interfered with by some of the lads and men already mentioned as being in the building, the sign-board torn off the hooks and thrown down into the street." In a foot-note (p. 39) he asserts to the statement that he sanctioned "the removal of the Society's sign." Testimony which, though anonymous,

stantly broken into a thousand fragments by the infuriated populace. O, lamentable departure from duty—O, shameful outrage upon private property—by one who had sworn, not to destroy but to protect property—not to pander to the lawless desires of a mob, however 'wealthy and respectable,' but to preserve the public peace.

"The act was wholly unjustifiable. The Mayor might have as lawfully surrendered me to the tender mercies of the mob, or ordered the building itself to be torn down, in order to propitiate them, as to remove that sign. Perhaps—nay, *probably*—he was actuated by kind intentions; probably he hoped that he should thereby satisfy the ravenous appetites of these human cormorants, and persuade them to retire; probably he trusted thus to extricate me from danger. But the sequel proved that he only gave a fresh stimulus to popular fury: and if he could have saved my life, or the whole city from destruction, by that single act, still he ought not to have obeyed the mandate of the mob—no indeed! He committed a public outrage in the presence of the lawless and disobedient, and thus strangely expected to procure obedience to and a respect for the law! He behaved disorderly before rebels that he might restore order among them! Mr. HENRY WILLIAMS and Mr. JOHN L. DIMMOCK also deserve severe reprehension for their forwardness in taking down the sign. The offence, under such circumstances, was very heinous. The value of the article destroyed was of no consequence; but the principle involved in its surrender and sacrifice is one upon which civil government, private property and individual liberty depend.[1]

must be respected because in part corroborating the Mayor's, was given in the *Liberator* for Oct. 31, 1835 (5:175). John L. Dimmock is reported as having said in conversation: "We [meaning Henry Williams and himself] told the Mayor it was entirely useless to say anything against it,—the sign must and shall come down. 'Well,' the Mayor replied, 'don't commit yourselves, don't commit yourselves, and I will send a peace officer to take it down.'" The temporary editor of the *Liberator* adds: "It is, moreover, a fact, as we are informed from another source, that one of the men who took down the sign, and indeed the first, if we mistake not, who laid hands upon it for that purpose, was a peace officer." The responsibility of the city authorities for its destruction was sought, in vain, to be enforced (by simple moral appeal) by the Anti-Slavery Society, which at last replaced the sign just a year after its removal (*Lib.* 6:171).

[1] The chips caused by Williams's detaching the sign and by its subsequent demolition in the street were eagerly caught up and carried off as relics. See Charles Burleigh's statement (*Lib.* 5:171), and John C. Park's letter in the Boston *Herald* of Jan. 1, 1882. E. N. Moore relates: "I procured

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"The sign being demolished, the cry for 'Garrison!' was renewed, more loudly than ever. It was now apparent that the multitude would not disperse until I had left the building; and as egress out of the front door was impossible, the Mayor and his assistants, as well as some of my friends, earnestly besought me to effect my escape in the rear of the building.[1] At this juncture, an abolition brother whose mind had not been previously settled on the peace question, in his anguish and alarm for my safety, and in view of the helplessness of the civil authority, said — 'I must henceforth repudiate the principle of non-resistance. When the civil arm is powerless, my own rights are trodden in the dust, and the lives of my friends are put in imminent peril by ruffians, I will hereafter prepare to defend myself and them at all hazards.' Putting my hand upon his shoulder, I said, 'Hold, my dear brother! You know not what spirit you are of. This is the trial of our faith, and the test of our endurance. Of what value or utility are the principles of peace and forgiveness, if we may repudiate them in the hour of peril and suffering? Do you wish to become like one of those violent and bloodthirsty men who are seeking my life? Shall we give blow for blow, and array sword against sword? God forbid! I will perish sooner than raise my hand against any man, even in self-defence, and let none of my friends resort to violence for my protection. If my life be taken, the cause of emancipation will not suffer. God reigns — his throne is undisturbed by this storm — he will make the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder he will restrain — his omnipotence will at length be victorious."[2]

a piece about three inches wide, and some six feet long, as a trophy of the battle, which I afterwards took to the office of the *Commercial Gazette*, where Homer had it cut up and distributed among his enemies. One piece was cut out to the shape of a [illegible] and sent to parties in New York." Boston *Sunday Mercury*, Mar. 15, 1868.

[1] Mayor Lyman's account of his interview with Mr Garrison for this purpose will be found on p. 13 of "The Garrison Mob." He implies, however, that this occurred after the destruction of the sign, but such is not the order in Mr Burleigh's relation (*Lib.* 5: 171). Moreover, there is no corroboration of his statement that he advised Mr Garrison to conceal himself in the garret, who accordingly "went up the attic stairs with alacrity," and the Mayor saw no more of him. The only surviving witness (1880), Mr Sewall, strenuously maintains that Mr Garrison was with difficulty persuaded by himself and his other friends to leave a building in which, by the Mayor's confession, no protection could be afforded him, whether in the "attic" or elsewhere.

[2] "Till this time [the advent of the Mayor]," says C. C. Burleigh (*Lib.* 5: 171), "Garrison had been seated in the office, manifesting no sign of alarm.

A, Anti-Slavery Office, Washington St. B, City Hall (Old State-house). Enlarged from Smith's Map of Boston, 1835.

either in deed, word or look; and now, when he came out to the entry, he appeared as he had done through the whole tumult, calm, collected, and cheerful. I could perceive not the least change in his manner from that which he exhibits in the entire absence of danger, or of even the remotest apprehension of danger. Some of his friends united with the Mayor and officers in endeavoring to find a way of escape from the building, in which they at length succeeded. He complied with their request, and retreated from the window in the rear of the building [*i.e.*, looking upon Wilson's Lane], after which one of the sheriffs announced to the populace that he had made diligent search for Wm. Lloyd Garrison, but that he could not be found. The dense crowd now began rapidly to grow thinner, and soon the street was almost wholly cleared. This I at first supposed was caused by the people's returning to their homes, but it was not long before I discovered my mistake. They were in chase of Garrison, having been informed, by some spy or looker-out, that he had escaped from a back window." So the Mayor (p. 21): "Perhaps ten minutes after I was told that Garrison had escaped, . . . I observed the whole crowd in front of the building [the Mayor was again at the foot of the staircase] turn and run up Washington Street. I no longer had any doubt but that Garrison, or some one, was found. I left the passageway instantly, told the officers to follow, and ran with the mob. When I reached the street on the north side of the City Hall, I looked down and saw a vast throng passing to the south along the head of State Street. I continued on past the Post-office [in the west end of the City Hall building, on Washington Street]."

John Reid Campbell.

"Preceded by my faithful and beloved friend Mr. J—— R—— C——, I dropped from a back window on to a shed, and narrowly escaped falling headlong to the ground. We entered into a carpenter's shop, through which we attempted to get into Wilson's Lane, but found our retreat cut off by the mob. They raised a shout as soon as we came in sight, but the workmen[1] promptly closed the door of the shop, kept them at bay for a time, and thus kindly afforded me an opportunity to find some other passage. I told Mr. C. it would be futile to attempt to escape — I would go out to the mob, and let them deal with me as they might elect; but he thought it was my duty to avoid them as long as possible. We then went up stairs, and, finding a vacancy in one corner of the room, I got into it, and he and a young lad piled up some boards in front of me to shield me from observation. In a few minutes several ruffians broke into the chamber, who seized Mr. C. in a rough manner, and led him out to the view of the mob, saying, 'This is not Garrison, but Garrison's and Thompson's friend, and he says he knows where Garrison is, but won't tell.' Then a shout of exultation was raised by the mob, and what became of him I do not know; though, as I was immediately discovered, I presume he escaped without material injury.

"On seeing me, three or four of the rioters, uttering a yell, furiously dragged me to the window,[2] with the intention of hurling me from that height to the ground; but one of them relented and said — 'Don't let us kill him outright.' So they drew me back, and coiled a rope about my body — probably to drag me through the streets.[3] I bowed to the mob, and, re-

[1] Their employer, Joseph K. Hayes, included. Twenty years later, Mr. Hayes threw up his commission as a Captain of the Watch and Police rather than assist in the rendition of Anthony Burns, a fugitive from slavery (*Lib.* 24:90).

[2] "It is not true [as the *Transcript* alleged, see *Niles' Register*, 49:194] that 'he was very much frightened, and fell down on his knees, clasped his hands, and begged hard for mercy.' This is altogether false. Nor was I wholly dumb while in the hands of those who first seized me in the carpenter's shop, and who seemed to be insanely frantic — tearing my coat, shaking me fiercely, &c.; but I simply said to them, 'It is needless to make such extra efforts of violence — I shall go down to the mob unresistingly'" (*Lib.* 5:179).

[3] "The intention being, as I understood, to carry me to the Common, and there give me a coat of tar-and-feathers, a ducking in the pond, etc." ('20th Anniversary of the Boston Mob,' p. 26). The following anonymous MS. of the time was found among Mr. Garrison's papers: "Dear Sir: A well-wisher of yours has *just* learnt, and takes this opportunity of inform-

questing them to wait patiently until I could descend, went down upon a ladder that was raised for that purpose. I fortunately extricated myself from the rope, and was seized by two or three powerful men, to whose firmness, policy and muscular energy I am probably indebted for my preservation.[1] They led me along bareheaded, (for I had lost my hat), through a mighty crowd, ever and anon shouting, 'He shan't be hurt! You shan't hurt him! Don't hurt him! He is an American,' &c., &c. This seemed to excite sympathy among many in the crowd, and they reiterated the cry, 'He shan't be hurt!' I was thus conducted through Wilson's Lane into State Street, in the rear of the City Hall, over the ground that was stained with the blood of the first martyrs in the cause of LIBERTY and INDEPENDENCE, by the memorable massacre of 1770—and upon which was proudly unfurled, only a few years since, with joyous acclamations, the beautiful banner presented to the gallant Poles by the young men of Boston! What a scandalous and revolting contrast! My offence was in pleading for LIBERTY—liberty for my enslaved countrymen, colored though they be—liberty of speech and of the press for ALL! And upon that 'consecrated spot' I was made an

ing you, that previous to the meeting of the Society at their rooms, there was a considerable meeting of young men at which they planned measures in regard to their proceedings on that day. A barrel of tar, a bag of feathers, a corrosive liquor, and a quantity of an indelible ink was procured and in readiness. The plan was, to take you and Mr. Thompson to the Common, strip, tar-and-feather you, and then dye your face and hands black in a manner that would never change from a night negro color. One of the young men told me that nothing but the energy and decision of the Mayor and his assistants saved you from your destined fate." According to E. N. Moore, it was a room-mate of his and Rand's, "Ben. Willis, a very stout boy for his years, and 'full of the old Nick,'" who directed the mob to Wilson's Lane, discovered Mr. Garrison in his concealment, and put the rope around his body, holding on to it till knocked away by the rescuers (Boston *Sunday Budget*, Mar. 18, 1883). "A cord was put around his body, under the arms. Several in the crowd sang out, 'Don't throw him out!' 'Don't hurt him!' A plank or ladder was then placed in the door at an angle of about forty-five degrees; in a sitting posture, facing the crowd, Mr. Garrison descended to the yard, the men in the loft holding the cord as he went down" ("A well-known citizen of Cambridgeport," one of those who discovered Mr. Garrison's hiding-place, in Boston *Transcript*, Mar. 12, 1884).

1 "They were the Messrs. Daniel and 'Buff' [Aaron] Cooley, an eminent trucking firm on India Street. Their action at this particular juncture was a great surprise to all of their acquaintance, as their associates were nearly all opponents of the abolitionists" (E. N. Moore, in Boston *Sunday Budget*, Mar. 18, 1883).

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[1] Josiah Quincy, Jr., afterwards Mayor of Boston, then President of the Common Council, saw the whole movement in Wilson's Lane from his office at 27 State Street. In obedience to his official duty, "I rushed down," he says, Jan. 7, 1870 ('Garrison Mob,' p. 54), "and forced myself into his [Garrison's] immediate vicinity, and remained at his side until he was placed in a carriage and drove off." Charles Sprague, the banker poet, could also overlook the scene in Wilson's Lane: "I saw an exasperated mob dragging a man along without his hat and with a rope about him. The man walked with head erect, calm countenance, flashing eyes, like a martyr going to the stake, full of faith and manly hope. The crowd turned into State Street, and I saw him no more" (Quoted in Wendell Phillips's lecture on "The Lyman Mob" in Boston Music Hall, Nov. 17, 1870—Boston *Journal*, Nov. 18). At this point, Charles Burleigh takes up the tale: "Going to the Post-office, I saw the crowd pouring out from Wilson's Lane into State Street with a deal of clamor and shouting, and heard the exulting cry, 'They 've got him—they 've got him.' And so, sure enough, they had. The tide set toward the south door of the City Hall, and in a few minutes I saw Garrison between two men who held him and led him along, while the throng pressed on every side, as if eager to devour him alive. His head was bare, his face a little more highly colored than in his most tranquil moments, as if flushed by moderate exercise, and his countenance composed" (*Lib.* 5:171). And now the Mayor: "On my way from the *Liberator* office to the City Hall,—a short distance, say one hundred and fifty yards,—several persons said to me, 'They are going to hang him; for God's sake, save him!'—at least ten or fifteen said this. I turned down the street south of the City Hall, and there I saw Garrison, without his hat, in the midst of what seemed a prodigious concourse of people. I rushed to his rescue. I met him a little to the east of the south door of the Hall. He was in the hands of two men, one holding him with great strength on each side. As soon as I reached Garrison he looked up (before, his head was bent to the earth) and smiled. [But not in recognition: Mr. Garrison had removed his glasses in fear of what might happen to his eyes, and became practically blind. This was an all-sufficient mode of blindfolding himself when playing at hide-and-seek with his children.] I said to the men who held him, 'Take him into my office.' I placed myself before him and backed, as well as I could, towards the steps of the Hall" ('Garrison Mob,' p. 21). Finally, Col. James W. Sever saw the mob rounding the eastern end of the City Hall, "having in custody William L. Garrison, in his shirt-sleeves, and without a hat, having a rope around his waist. As they turned towards Washington Street they were met by the Mayor and a force of constables. At this moment the cry was raised, 'To the Frog Pond with him!' followed by an appeal to the bystanders to assist the Mayor, when, among many others, the late [1870] Colonel Thomas C. Amory and myself aided in the rescue of Mr. Garrison from the crowd, and in placing him within the *south* door of the Old State House [City Hall], which was at once closed" ('Garrison Mob,' p. 44).

"Orders were now given to carry me to the Mayor's office in the City Hall. As we approached the south door, the Mayor

City Hall, from the west end (Post-office). The door with the flight of steps is that by which Mr. Garrison was taken in. From Smith's Map of Boston, 1835.

attempted to protect me by his presence; but as he was unassisted by any show of authority or force, he was quickly thrust aside — and now came a tremendous rush on the part of the mob to prevent my entering the Hall. For a moment, the conflict was dubious — but my sturdy supporters carried me safely up to the Mayor's room.[1]

"Whatever those newspapers which were instrumental in stirring up the mob may report, throughout the whole of this trying scene I felt perfectly calm, nay, very happy. It seemed

[1] "This was only effected," says Mayor Lyman, "by the use of great physical strength. The mob made no attempt to come in at the south door, but great numbers ran round and entered at the north so as to fill the lower hall. Garrison was, however, carried up stairs. I took my station at the foot of the staircase leading to the Mayor and Aldermen's room [at the east end of the building]. The crowd was extreme for a minute. I spoke to the people and said in substance that the law must be maintained, the order of the city preserved, and that I would lay down my life on that spot to effect these objects. These remarks were well received. The crowd continued intense in the street on the south side of the Hall. I therefore went to the window over the south door, and got out on the ledge or cap over that door, where I was able to stand, though the position was anything but safe. I here again spoke to the people very much as in the Hall. These remarks were also well received" ('Garrison Mob,' p. 22).

CHAP. I. 1835. to me that it was indeed a blessed privilege thus to suffer in the cause of Christ. Death did not present one repulsive feature. The promises of God sustained my soul, so that it was not only divested of fear, but ready to sing aloud for joy.

"Having had my clothes [it was a bran-new suit] rent asunder, one individual kindly lent me a pair of pantaloons — another, a coat[1] — a third, a stock — a fourth, a cap as a substitute for my lost hat. After a consultation of fifteen or twenty minutes, the Mayor and his advisers came to the singular conclusion, that the building would be endangered by my continuing in it,[2] and that the preservation of my life depended upon committing me to jail, ostensibly as a disturber of the peace!![3] A hack was got in readiness at the door[4] to receive

[1] One of the last letters ever received by Mr. Garrison, bearing date of March 26, 1879, and signed by H. B. Thompson (presumably a lady), contained these reminiscences of the mob: "I was at the house of Mr. Nathaniel Vinal in Portland Street. Mr. Vinal was a grain merchant doing business on Vinal's wharf at the North End. He had a son, Spencer Vinal, a young man perhaps 25 years old. He, knowing, I suppose, what was to be done, kept about, looking on, but had no sympathy with you or your work. He came home to his father's house in the evening to supper, wearing your coat, from a pocket of which he took a handful of papers and letters, saying, 'I have got the whole abolition correspondence, I guess,' and then told us as follows: 'Garrison went into a carpenter's shop in Wilson's Lane. They followed him, dragged him from under the bench, put a rope round his neck, and brought him to the window to hang him out. I had thought it was good sport up to this time, but when I saw him standing there so pale I thought it was going too far, and said to Aaron Cooley, Let's go to the rescue; and with some more who helped us we got him clear and ran him" into the City Hall. " . . . I exchanged coats [and I think he said hats] with him'" (see *Lib.* 5:187).

[2] Perhaps the fact that the Post-office was in the same building had something to do with this decision. If so, it was only another instance of excluding "incendiary matter" from the mails.

[3] The Mayor's account is: "Sheriff Parkman, who was present, said that he would commit him as a rioter. The usual law paper was made out, and Garrison agreed to go to jail, on the condition (as I was informed by Parkman) that he should not be subject to any expense" ('Garrison Mob,' p. 23). As to his consent, Mr. Garrison says (*Lib.* 5:197): "It is true, I made no objection, because freedom of choice did not appertain to my situation. But what could have been more rash than the attempt to drive me in a carriage to jail . . . ? That it was successful is truly a marvel; for the scene around the carriage was indescribably perilous." And, "Until I was called to listen to the reading of the warrant before the court on the ensuing day, I had not the slightest intimation or suspicion that I was incarcerated on a criminal charge."

[4] The *north* door. By a ruse of the Mayor's, a carriage had been brought also to the south door, and the attention of the mob fixed upon it by the

me — and, supported by Sheriff Parkman and Ebenezer Bailey, Esq.[1] (the Mayor leading the way), I succeeded in getting into it without much difficulty, as I was not readily identified in my new garb. Now came a scene that baffles the power of description. As the ocean, lashed into fury by the spirit of the storm,

From the City Hall, State St., to the City Jail, Leverett St.
From Smith's Map of Boston, 1835.

formation of double lines of guards from the door to the carriage. See John C. Park's letter in Boston *Herald* of Jan. 1, 1882, and E. N. Moore's narrative in Boston *Sunday Budget* of Mar. 18, 1883, and compare with them the late Ellis Ames's singularly mixed account in Vol. 18 of the Mass. Hist. Society's Proceedings, pp. 341, 342.

[1] Miss Anne Warren Weston relates (MS. April 14, 1883): "Mr. Ebenezer Bailey, the teacher of the Young Ladies' High School, was in that year [1835] one of the Common Council of Boston. I had been partly educated at his school. . . . Though a man of great generosity and nobility of feeling, and though he had passed some months in Virginia, and sometimes told me of the painful scenes he had witnessed there, he yet shared the pro-slavery sentiment of the time. . . . . A day or two after the 21st of October, I dined at his house. He knew I had been one of the women

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seeks to whelm the adventurous bark beneath its mountain waves — so did the mob, enraged by a series of disappointments, rush like a whirlwind upon the frail vehicle in which I sat, and endeavor to drag me out of it. Escape seemed a physical impossibility. They clung to the wheels — dashed open the doors — seized hold of the horses — and tried to upset the carriage.[1] They were, however, vigorously repulsed by the police — a constable sprang in by my side — the doors were closed — and the driver, lustily using his whip upon the bodies of his horses and the heads of the rioters, happily made an opening through the crowd, and drove at a tremendous speed for Leverett Street. But many of the rioters followed even with superior swiftness, and repeatedly attempted to arrest the progress of the horses.[2] To reach the jail by a direct course

mobbed, and, of course, we met with much warmth and emotion. After the first few words, the following conversation occurred, that I remember *textually*. I said: 'Mr. Bailey, how did Garrison behave?' 'No man could have done better,' was his reply. 'He showed perfect courage and self-possession. He was only very absurd in one thing. He kept saying, "Oh, if they would only hear me five minutes, I am sure I could bring them to reason." Now you know,' continued he, 'that that was ridiculous, for they were all ready to tear him in pieces.' He then went on to relate, with some pride and pleasure, the part he took in Garrison's rescue. He said that when Garrison approached the carriage, he was supported on one side by Sheriff Parkman, and on the other by himself. 'Fortunately,' said he, 'I had with me a large, strong umbrella, and as we tried to get him into the carriage, there was such a rush made upon him that I struck with my whole strength in every direction, and thus we cleared the way.'"

[1] An anonymous reminiscent in the Boston *Commonwealth* of Oct. 23, 1880, a boy-witness, says: "The foremost threw a rope — probably the same that had done duty before in the affair — over the coach-body, with the evident intent of overturning the vehicle. For a moment or less it seemed as though they would succeed, for, by pulling on the line outwardly, they lifted the coach from its perpendicular so that it tilted on its off-wheels. I expected to see it go over; but the owner lashed his horses, and their momentum was too great for those holding the rope." Col. J. W. Sever testifies: "We found the constables in the act of putting Mr. Garrison in a carriage, and the crowd rapidly increasing, and endeavoring to prevent it; some trying to overturn the carriage, large numbers hanging on to the wheels and calling out to '*Cut the traces!* cut the reins!' An individual drew his knife and made an attempt to do this, when he was seized by myself and thrust aside. The driver effectually applied his whip, and with difficulty succeeded in breaking away, when he drove rapidly up Court Street to the jail, followed by the mob" ('Garrison Mob,' p. 45). So E. N. Moore, as already so often quoted.

[2] James N. Buffum, of Lynn, was sitting in his buggy on Court Street as the struggling carriage approached. The horses drew off to the side nearest the buggy, "and, in doing so, the hubs of the two vehicles came

was found impracticable; and after going in a circuitous direction,[1] and encountering many 'hair-breadth 'scapes,'[2] we drove up to this new and last refuge of liberty and life, when another bold attempt was made to seize me by the mob—but in vain.[3] In a few moments I was locked up in a cell, safe from my persecutors, accompanied by two delightful associates, a good conscience and a cheerful mind. In the course of the evening, several of my friends[4] came to my grated window to sympathise and rejoice with me, with whom I held a pleasant conversation until the hour of retirement, when I threw myself upon my prison bed, and slept tranquilly during the night.[5] In the

so close together as to brush off the rioters from one side. This relief enabled the horses to get a headway, and they went off at a gallop" (*Woman's Journal*, Oct. 26, 1878, p. 340).

[1] At Bowdoin Square, the driver made as if going for Cambridge bridge, and this shook off a number of the pursuers ('Garrison Mob,' p. 23).

[2] Lowell Mason, Jr., was on Leverett Street, about half way down, when the carriage dashed past. The pursuit was even then so determined that the mob jumped upon the steps and were thrust away by the constable within. Boy that he was, young Mason was struck by the composure of Mr. Garrison's countenance. The mob, he remembers, was not a *rough* one, in the present sense of that term: it was composed of young men (merchants' clerks, as Mr. Ellis Ames describes them). Mr. Mason's observation should be noted in connection with the alleged gloomy sky on which much stress is laid in Mayor Lyman's *apologia*.

[3] Mayor Lyman says: "Running the greater part of the way, I reached the jail before the carriage, which, however, soon came up, but not before between two and three hundred persons had assembled there. But a line was made to the jail by officers, and, on the door being opened, Garrison seemed to bound from the carriage to the jail door with a single leap" ('Garrison Mob,' p. 23). This was certainly very precipitate action! Mr. Henry Guild reports in 1869 (*ibid.*, p. 39) that he was informed shortly after the affair "that Mr. Garrison, in relating his experience in a public meeting, stated that he never was so glad to get into a jail in his life." A similar statement was made in a long review of the anti-slavery movement in the N. Y. *Herald* of Feb. 7, 1861, and elicited this denial from Mr. Garrison: "It is needless for us to say that no such exclamation ever came from our lips—no such thought ever entered our mind. We make no boast of our courage; but it is in the midst of such tumults we have always found our calmest self-possession" (*Lib.* 31:26). To this psychological fact his family are able, and have a right, to testify.

[4] Among them Knapp, Whittier, and A. Bronson Alcott and his wife, a sister of Samuel J. May (*Woman's Journal*, Oct. 26, 1878, p. 340). Mr. Whittier relates that the prisoner said to them playfully, "You see my accommodations are so limited that I cannot ask you to spend the night with me." Mr. Vashon called in the morning, bringing a new hat (*Lib.* 5:203).

[5] "Excepting an occasional throb of anxiety in regard to my dear wife" (MS. Oct. 26, 1835, to G. W. Benson). "When the tidings were brought to her of what had befallen me, she indicated her unshaken faith in my stead-

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morning I awoke quite refreshed, and, after eating an excellent breakfast furnished by the kindness of my keeper, I inscribed upon the walls of my cell the following items:

"Wm. Lloyd Garrison was put into this cell on Wednesday afternoon, Oct. 21, 1835, to save him from the violence of a 'respectable and influential' mob, who sought to destroy him for preaching the abominable and dangerous doctrine, that 'all men are created equal,' and that all oppression is odious in the sight of God. 'Hail, Columbia!' Cheers for the Autocrat of Russia and the Sultan of Turkey!

"Reader, let this inscription remain till the last slave in this despotic land be loosed from his fetters.[1]

When peace within the bosom reigns,
And conscience gives th' approving voice;
Though bound the human form in chains,
Yet can the soul aloud rejoice.

'Tis true, my footsteps are confined —
I cannot range beyond this cell; —
But what can circumscribe my mind?
To chain the winds attempt as well!

Confine me as a prisoner — but bind me not as a slave.
Punish me as a criminal — but hold me not as a chattel.
Torture me as a man — but drive me not like a beast.
Doubt my sanity — but acknowledge my immortality.

"In the course of the forenoon, after passing through the mockery of an examination, for form's sake, before Judge Whitman,[2] I was released from prison; but at the *earnest solici-*

fastness by saying, 'I do not believe my husband will be untrue to his principles'" ('Helen E. Garrison: In Memoriam,' p. 25).

[1] Leverett-Street jail was demolished in 1852.

[2] At the jail itself: the authorities were afraid to have it take place in court. The original complaint and warrant are here given as copied from the files, and published in Vol. 18 of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, p. 343, by Mr. Ellis Ames:

"*To Edward G. Prescott, Esquire, one of the Justices of the Peace within and for the County of Suffolk.*

"Daniel Parkman, of said Boston, Esquire, complains and gives the said Justice to understand and be informed that William Lloyd Garrison, of Boston, in said county, printer, together with divers other persons to the number of thirty or more to your complainant unknown, on the twenty-first of October, instant, at Boston, aforesaid, in the county aforesaid, did, as your complainant verily believes and has no doubt, unlawfully, riotously and routously assemble, and then and there did disturb and break the peace

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tation of the city authorities, in order to tranquillize the public mind, I deemed it proper to leave the city for a few days, and accordingly took my departure, accompanied by Mrs. Garrison.[1]

"My thanks are due to Sheriff Parkman for various acts of politeness and kindness; as also to Sheriff Sumner,[2] Mr. Coolidge, Mr. Andrews, and several other gentlemen.

"I have been thus minute in describing the rise, progress and termination of this disgraceful riot, in order to prevent (or rather to correct) false representations and exaggerated reports respecting it and myself. It is proper to subjoin a few reflections.

"1. The outrage was perpetrated in Boston — the Cradle of Liberty — the city of Hancock and Adams — the headquarters

of the Commonwealth, and a riot did cause and make, to the terror of the good people of the Commonwealth, and against the peace and dignity of the same.

"Therefore, your complainant prays that the said William Lloyd Garrison may be apprehended and dealt with as to law and justice shall appertain.

"Dated at Boston, this twenty-first of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five.

"DANIEL PARKMAN.

"SUFFOLK, ss.
"BOSTON, Oct. 21, 1835.

"Sworn to before me: EDWARD G. PRESCOTT,
"*Jus. Pacis.*

"SUFFOLK, ss.

"*To the Sheriff of our County of Suffolk, or his Deputies, or any of the Constables of the City of Boston.*

SEAL.

"In pursuance of the foregoing complaint you are hereby required, in the name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to apprehend the within-named William Lloyd Garrison forthwith, and have his body before me, the subscriber, one of the Justices of the Peace of said county, or the Justices of the Police Court of said city, then and there to be dealt with according to law.

"Dated at Boston, the twenty-first of October, A. D. 1835.

"EDWARD G. PRESCOTT,
"SUFFOLK, ss. October 21, 1835. "*Jus. Pacis.*

"I have committed the aforesaid Garrison to jail by virtue hereof.

"DANIEL PARKMAN, *Dep. Sheriff.*"

[1] "It is not true that I left either the building [the A. S. Rooms] or the city because I was intimidated — but I left both at the earnest entreaty of the city authorities, and of several friends, and particularly on account of the delicate state of Mrs. Garrison's health [who was soon to become a mother]" (*Lib.* 5:179). Sheriff Parkman drove Mr. Garrison to Canton, where he joined his wife on the train to Providence. The cars and stages leaving Boston that morning were searched for him.

[2] The manly father of Charles Sumner.

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of refinement, literature, intelligence, and religion! No comments can add to the infamy of this fact.

"2. It was perpetrated in the open daylight of heaven, and was therefore most unblushing and daring in its features.

"3. It was against the friends of human freedom — the liberty of speech — the right of association — and in support of the vilest slavery that ever cursed the world.

"4. It was dastardly beyond precedent, as it was an assault of thousands upon a small body of helpless females. Charleston and New Orleans have never acted so brutally. Courageous cravens!

"5. It was planned and executed, not by the rabble, or the workingmen, but by '*gentlemen* of property and standing from all parts of the city' — and now [October 25] that time has been afforded for reflection, it is still either openly justified or coldly disapproved by the 'higher classes,' and exultation among them is general throughout the city. . . .

"7. It is evidently winked at by the city authorities. No efforts have been made to arrest the leading rioters. The Mayor has made no public appeal to the citizens to preserve order; nor has he given any assurance that the right of free discussion shall be enjoyed without molestation; nor did he array any military force[1] against the mob, or attempt to disperse them except by useless persuasion; on the contrary, he complied with their wishes in tearing down the anti-slavery sign. He was chairman, too, of the pro-slavery meeting in Faneuil Hall, at which WASHINGTON was cheered for being a SLAVEHOLDER! . . . "

The conduct of Mayor Lyman on this occasion has now been honestly set forth. It was promptly arraigned in the *Liberator* by the Rev. Henry C. Wright,[2] and

Lib. 5:182.

[1] "Once more let me add," says Mr. Garrison, at a later date (*Lib.* 5:197), "that I have condemned the Mayor only in view of the oath of office which he has taken, and of the form of government which he and the people believe they ought at all hazards to maintain. For myself I ask no physical violence to be exerted for my protection, and I acknowledge no other government than that of the Most High."

[2] Under the signature "Hancock." Mr. Wright was not satisfied with one *nom de guerre*: "Law," "Wickliffe," "Cato," "Justice," are others which he employed at this time in the *Liberator*. He was a native of Sharon, Conn. (1797), who turned from hat-making to the ministry, studying at Andover from 1819 to 1823, and being licensed to preach in the latter year. He was settled till 1833 at West Newbury, Mass. He joined the New England A. S. Society in May, 1835, and first met Mr. Garrison on Nov. 6, 1835. See his Autobiography.

defended by Samuel E. Sewall ("An Abolitionist") and "Another Abolitionist." It was reconsidered at great length, and again condemned, by Mr. Garrison, who reluctantly entered into the discussion — "lest the charge should be made that my ignominious treatment disqualified me from being an impartial reviewer." A generation later it was reviewed in a lecture delivered by Wendell Phillips in Boston, in November, 1869, out of which grew a newspaper controversy, and was thereupon summed up in a brochure (freely cited above) by the son and namesake of Mayor Lyman, with the result, so far as Mr. Garrison was concerned, of finding him guilty of ingratitude and of a dishonorable change of feeling towards a benefactor. Mr. Garrison's allowances for Mayor Lyman, in the narrative just given, show that he did not impute to him *motives* inconsistent with a desire to preserve the peace and to save a citizen's life. He could not deny that (in the last instance) the Mayor *had* saved his life;[1] but then, he had thrice imperilled it — first, by lending his official weight to a mobocratic demonstration in Faneuil Hall; next, by counselling him to leave the anti-slavery building while besieged in front and rear by an eager mob; and then by taking him through the same mob, become still more desperate, a long distance to the city jail. Both the Mayor and his son belittle the mob in view of its trifling damages to person and property, but insist on its fury as a ground of gratitude on Mr. Garrison's part, and of excuse for the Mayor's inability to meet it squarely, and his consequent resort to strategy, ending in the *bouffe* performance of committing the victim instead of the rioters.

Lib. 5:186.
Lib. 5:190.
Lib. 5:191, 197.
Papers relating to the Garrison Mob, Boston, 1870.
Garrison Mob, pp. 3, 24.

The Boston of that day was, like many other American cities, proving that its municipal organization had not kept pace with the growth of population and with the increase of the dangerous elements of society; and there can be no doubt, as Mr. Theodore Lyman, Jr., *Ibid., p.* 52.

[1] Much is made of expressions to this effect reported by Knapp and by Assistant-Marshal Wells ('Garrison Mob,' pp. 65, 68).

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shows, that the police force was miserably inadequate for an emergency like a riot. On the other hand, the city was still small enough to make the Mayor a well-known figure, his office possessed much greater dignity, and his presence inspired much greater awe, than it does to-day. This, while it makes his part in removing the anti-slavery sign (accepting his own version of it) an indefensible encouragement to the mob, would also, it must be said, justly qualify any present estimate of his personal bravery. Comparison has pertinently been made with Mayor Eliot's quelling of the ferocious Broad-Street riot of June 11, 1837, between two fire-engine companies and the Irish, when missiles were flying, and personal intervention meant taking risks which Mayor Lyman had neither to encounter nor to fear.

Memoir of Chas. Sumner, 1:162; *Lib.* 7:99.

As to calling out the military, the Mayor perhaps had no statute authority to do so;[1] and if he had, the militia was in the streets — a part of the mob — the thing to be put down.[2] Possibly the marines from the Charlestown Navy-Yard could have been got to guard the City Hall in defence of Federal property — the Post-office — as later they were available for escorting fugitive slaves southward past the same building; but this was before the days of telegraphs, and the consent of a pro-slavery Administration might have been necessary. It must, however, be remembered, that Mayor Lyman had every reason to expect, and ample warning to prepare for, a disturbance,[3] and that the handbill did not rouse him to

[1] 'Garrison Mob,' p. 58; but compare B. F. Hallett's view of the Mayor's unlimited power, in his *Daily Advocate*, almost the only journal friendly to the abolitionists (*Lib.* 5:180).

[2] So responded Col. John C. Park to Wendell Phillips, a member of his regiment, on the spot ('20th Anniversary of Boston Mob,' p. 32).

[3] His friend, Henry G. Chapman, the husband of Mrs. Chapman, had frequently brought him information to this effect, only to be told by the city marshal, "You give us a great deal of trouble" ('Right and Wrong,' 1836, [1] p. 29). Moreover, while the Mayor was advising the abolitionists not to hold meetings that might draw mob violence upon them, it does not appear that he ever expostulated with editors whose incitement to that violence was constant, malignant, and potent.

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a proper sense of the situation. In this respect he did not do what he must have done had his own "class" been in similar peril;[1] and he refused to the end, seeing his own class about him, to believe or pronounce it a mob. He knew, indeed,—and it is no figure of speech to say so,—that he was in the midst of the adjourned Faneuil Hall meeting, and he ought to have been presiding over it, instead of "calling it to order." There is no pretence that he lost for a moment his sympathy with the pro-slavery animus of the mob, or that he had any loftier distress of mind than, *ex officio*, municipal disorder occasioned. He did no more for Mr. Garrison than he might have done for a murderer in danger of being lynched on the way to prison. The outrage on the right of free meeting and of free speech affected him so little that, as Mr. Garrison charged, he took no steps to bring the notorious instigators and ringleaders to trial, or proclaim his sense of the disgrace that had befallen the city.[2] His subsequent inaction, in short, naturally extinguished what dubious claim he had on Mr. Garrison's gratitude; and the more the editor of the *Liberator* reflected upon the Mayor's behavior, the graver seemed that officer's responsibility for an outbreak in which the personal adventure was inconsiderable in comparison with the public rights that were trodden under foot.

Right and Wrong, 1836, (1) *p.* 33.

[1] "He shamefully truckled to wealth and respectability," alleged Mr. Garrison (*Lib.* 5:197). "If it had been a mob of workingmen assaulting a meeting of the merchants, no doubt he would have acted with energy and decision, and they would have been routed by force. But broadcloth and money alter the case: they are above the law, and the imperious masters of poor men. Wo unto the city, and wo unto the land, in which such distinctions obtain! And he is unfit to be vested with authority who makes these distinctions the rule of his conduct!"

[2] For instance, we do not find him calling a second Faneuil Hall meeting, as in August of the previous year, on occasion of the sacking of the Ursuline Convent (*ante*, 1:448), to pledge the pro-Southern [Protestant] citizens of Boston, "collectively and individually," to unite with their anti-slavery [Catholic] brethren "in protecting their persons, their property, and their civil and religious rights," with H. G. Otis for chief speaker to the resolutions (see *Niles' Register*, 46:438).

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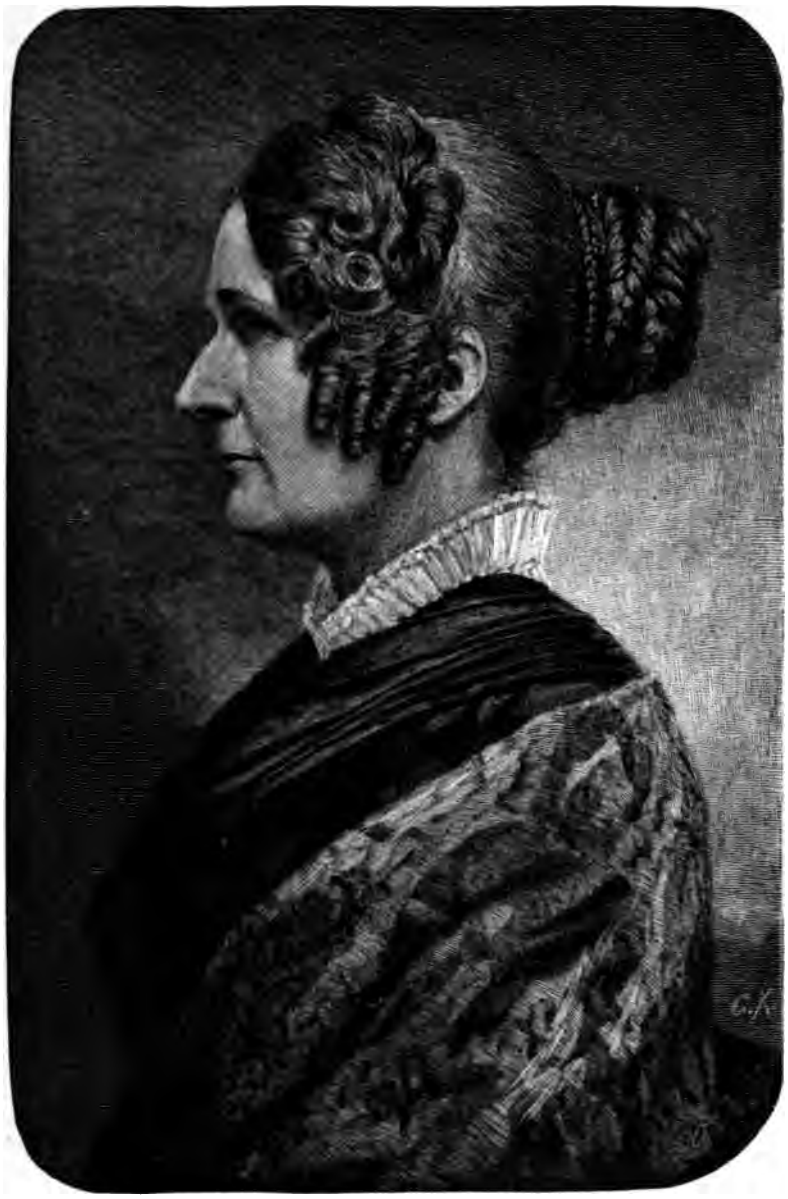
Mayor Lyman may have been sincere, in offering, at the foot of the staircase in the City Hall, to lay down his life in maintenance of law and order. But the occasion and the opportunity for such a sacrifice were presented at an earlier stage of the trouble. To the mob's cry for Thompson, instead of answering in a feeble voice, "He is not here," the Mayor should have thundered, "And if he *were* here, he should remain and speak, as is his right." A dead body as the cost of that proclamation would have been worth many exculpatory volumes. The despised sign whose destruction he estimated in dollars and cents instead of in principles, was also a fit pretext for a magistrate's dying at his post. Finally, if the case had not, by these laches, grown too desperate, Mr. Garrison's right to remain in the building and be protected there furnished still another. But Mayor Lyman seems to have been profuse in declarations which, to use Mr. Garrison's words, in the sequel proved "mere declamation."[1]

Lib. 5 : 197.

Law offices in abundance overlooked the scene of the mob; the legislators, in special session at the State House, —John G. Whittier among them,—hastened down to become spectators. Law was everywhere, but justice was fallen in the streets. Here and there a not hostile face was visible, like George B. Emerson's, whom Mrs. Chapman called to witness as she passed him in the throng. Wendell Phillips, commencing practice in his native city, and not versed, perhaps, in the riot statutes, wondered why his regiment was not called out. Henry I. Bowditch, who had only heard of Garrison, felt his gorge rise at the spectacle, and, meeting an alderman,[2] vented his indignation at the "worse than contemptible

[1] Mr. Sewall, who is in a sense the Mayor's own witness, "truly declared, 'that Mr. Lyman has always said, if the abolitionists chose to have meetings in spite of the excited state of public feeling, he would defend the right of free discussion at the peril of his life'" (*Lib.* 5 : 191). This, which was of Mr. Garrison's own knowledge, made the Mayor's default assume, in his eyes, almost the character of treachery.

[2] Samuel A. Eliot, afterwards Mayor, and Representative in Congress.



Maria W. Chapman

mob that was going on," and offered his services as a volunteer to shoot the rioters down. "I found my city official *quite cool*, and he intimated that, though it was the duty of the Mayor to put down the riot, the city government did not *very much disapprove of the mob* to put down such agitators as Garrison and those like him."[1] The editor of the *New England Galaxy* overheard a justice of the peace remark: "I hope they will catch him [Garrison] and tar-and-feather him; and though I would not assist, I can tell them five dollars are ready for the man that will do it."

Boston Advertiser, Oct. 19, 1881.

The "respectable" press of Boston had but one voice on Thursday concerning the occurrences of the previous day.[2] The *Atlas* (Webster Whig) charged the abolitionists with the disturbance, while coyly repelling the imputation of having itself been mainly instrumental in getting it up—an "Atlas mob." The *Mercantile Journal* called for the prevention of anti-slavery meetings "by the strong arm of the law," seeing that they were "but the signal for the assemblage of a mob"; and would have Garrison and Thompson arrested as "disturbers of the peace and manufacturers of brawls and riots," and made "to give security in a large amount for their future good behavior." The *Transcript* congratulated the city on the absence from the mob "of what is called the *rabble* or *canaille*—the vicious dregs of society who,

Right and Wrong, 1836, (1) p. 57.

Ibid., p. 61.

Ibid., p. 59.

[1] "I turned from him with loathing and disgust," continues Dr. Bowditch, "and from that moment became an 'abolitionist.' The next day I subscribed for the *Liberator*." So presently did Charles Sumner ('Memoir,' 1:157), though he had not witnessed the mob, and "did not express such anxiety about the affair" as did another lawyer to his informant, Ellis Ames (Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 18:343).

[2] We omit the *Commercial Gazette*, which was a low paper. Here we may as well record the fact—bitterly commented on by Homer in his letter to George C. Rand *(ante*, p. 10), when his former apprentice had become an abolitionist—that the *Gazette's* supreme bid for Southern patronage failed utterly, while its local support fell away, compelling a change of owners. Homer himself, the sad victim of poverty and drink, reappears for a moment begging work in a printing-office occupying the very premises whence Mr. Garrison descended to the mob; and then, a vagrant, meets his forlorn end in the Baltimore lock-up (E. N. Moore, in the Boston *Sunday Budget*, Mar. 18, 1883).

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in other populous cities, give terrific features to popular and excited assemblages." The *Courier* thought it a most shamefully good mob. The *Daily Advertiser* "regarded the assemblage not so much as a *riot*, as the *prevention of a riot*. . . . We consider the whole transaction as the *triumph of the law* over lawless violence, and the love of order over an attempt to produce riot and confusion."[1] The religious press, except the *New England Spectator* and *Zion's Herald* (Methodist), was in accord with the secular. The *Christian Watchman* (Baptist) pronounced the abolitionists equally culpable with the mob. Tracy's *Recorder* (Congregationalist) said it was Mr. Garrison's "settled policy to provoke mobs as much as he can," and so "identify his cause with the cause of civil liberty," to the distress of worthy citizens thus forced to choose between him and the mob. The *Christian Register* (Unitarian) saw no adequate excuse for a mob in the meeting of "a few black and white ladies, in an hour of romance or revery," but rebuked them and their male associates for courting persecution. "As the friends of peace, they ought not to defy public opinion, however wrong."

Lib. 5:174. *Right and Wrong*, 1836, (1) *p.* 59. *Lib.* 5:175. *Lib.* 5:184, 185. *Right and Wrong*, 1836, (1) *p.* 63.

It was not otherwise with the most eminent professors and teachers of religion. Harriet Martineau, en route from Salem to Providence, had "passed through the mob some time after it had begun to assemble." Her fellow-passengers, connecting the well-dressed crowd with the adjacent Post-office, naturally "supposed it was a busy foreign-post day." At Providence the truth reached her:

Society in America, 1, § 4.

"President Wayland [of Brown University] agreed with me at the time about the iniquitous and fatal character of the out-

Autobiography, 1:346, and *Society in America*, 1, § 4.

[1] As an amusing instance of heredity, it should be recorded here that the *Advertiser* of Aug. 5, 1881, cited the legal falsehood employed to incarcerate Mr. Garrison as "a striking illustration of the respect which has always been cherished here [in Boston] for legal forms." "If any one had attempted to seize the unfortunate prisoner as he left the Old State House, that person and all who abetted him would have been liable to a criminal prosecution for attempting to rescue a prisoner held by due process of law, as well as for inciting a riot." Dogberry could not have surpassed this invention for putting the mob in the wrong.

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rage; but called on me, after a trip to Boston, to relieve my anxiety by the assurance that it was all right, — the mob having been entirely composed of gentlemen![1] Professor Henry Ware, who did and said better things afterwards, told me that the plain truth was, the citizens did not choose to let such a man as Garrison live among them, — admitting that Garrison's opinions on slavery were the only charge against him. Lawyers on that occasion defended a breach of the laws; ladies were sure that the gentlemen of Boston would do nothing improper; merchants thought the abolitionists were served quite right, — they were so troublesome to established routine; the clergy thought the subject so 'low' that people of taste should not be compelled to hear anything about it; and even Judge Story, when I asked him whether there was not a public prosecutor who might prosecute for the assault on Garrison, if the abolitionists did not, replied that he had given his advice (which had been formally asked) against any notice whatever being taken of the outrage, — the feeling being so strong against the discussion of slavery, and the rioters being so respectable in the city. These things I myself heard and saw, or I would not ask anybody to believe what I could hardly credit myself."

Compare ante, I: 462, 463.

Joseph Story.

For the second time in the space of three months the editor of the *Liberator* was exiled from the city of his adoption, and driven from a home which would be his no more. The sequel will appear in the following extracts from private letters:

George Benson to George W. Benson.

BROOKLYN, CONN., October 23, 1835. *MS.*

This day we unexpectedly but cheerfully welcomed the arrival of dear Helen and her husband. I thought Boston was the last place that would suffer a riotous mob to annihilate law, and I ardently hope that a reaction friendly to the cause of justice may yet appear in that city. . . . Garrison says when the outrageous multitude were thirsting for his blood, he felt calm

[1] William Goodell writes to Mr. Garrison from Providence, Feb. 25, 1836: "Have you read Wayland's 'Elements [of Moral Science]'? There are a few pages in it that squint hard at a support of the authority of Government to judge of and punish incendiary publications. I am astonished that no one has noticed it. But all in good time. I am waiting to see his course in some matters now pending. We shall soon see how far he will go in playing the Lane Seminary game over again!" (MS.)

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and composed. It must have been alarming to your dear sister. I am thankful to a kind Providence for their protection. . . . The Mayor of Boston was very friendly to Garrison.[1]

George W. Benson to W. L. Garrison, at Brooklyn.

MS. PROVIDENCE, October 23, 1835.

I have just returned from Boston, where I went in pursuit of you. . . . I reached Boston at six o'clock, and drove directly to 23 Brighton Street, but found no admittance. From thence *J. R. Campbell.* to Campbell's in Brattle Street, who accompanied me to Mr. *J. E. Fuller.* Fuller's in Pitts Street. There I was informed for the first time that you were probably where I started from. Here I passed the night. C. Burleigh called to see me. Everything was quiet except two or three alarms of fire. . . . . This morning I arose at daylight, after having passed a sleepless night, my mind being too active for rest, and went forth into the city to look after friend Knapp. He was about the city yesterday, but I could not find him this morning. Three hands went to work early at the *Liberator* office, at his direction, but when I left at nine o'clock, he had not been in. They are determined to have the paper out in season.

Lib. 5:171. I made Burleigh promise that he would write a true account in general, leaving for you to give the particulars next week. I likewise saw Whittier, and made him promise to draw up an account of the affair, with an appeal to our fellow-countrymen, to be published immediately, and ordered three thousand copies for this vicinity. I further ordered one thousand copies of A. *Ante.* 1:518. Grimké's letter, with your introductory remarks, and your address published in the *Liberator* several weeks since, with your *Lib.* 5:157. name appended, and Whittier's poetry on the times,[2] in a pamphlet form. I urged all our friends to redouble their exertions. They seemed well disposed to accept the advice, as nothing will now avail but thorough measures. *Liberty or death.* . . .

They all praised Sister Helen's firmness, or calmness, in Boston. Dear girl! she knows not what I felt for her. . . .

They considered all danger of further violence as past for the present.

[1] The reader has all the evidence in possession of Mr. Garrison's family bearing on Mayor Lyman's "friendliness." After her husband was jailed, he called upon Mrs. Garrison, who found his manner cold and unsympathetic.

[2] "Stanzas for the Times," following the Faneuil Hall meeting, and first printed in the *Courier*, signed "A Farmer."

Charles C. Burleigh to Henry E. Benson.

BOSTON, October 26, 1835. *MS.*

Everything is at present tranquil, and we hope will remain so. No injury has been done to us at the office, except the splitting down half the door and destroying the sign. We feel confident that the mob will be an advantage to our cause. Assurances come in to us from the country that it is benefiting us there; and even in the city, I think we have reason to believe it has made us friends. We stand erect as yet. Our friends are in good spirits, and some of them say it is the best anti-slavery meeting we have yet had in Boston.

The affairs of the *Liberator* are somewhat crippled, indeed, for on account of the excitement, and from apprehensions for their property, the owners of the building have notified Knapp to quit; and as he has no lease he must do so. He is somewhat perplexed to know what to do, or where to get another office, but perhaps he will give all necessary information respecting the *Liberator* affairs.

No disturbance took place after Garrison left, though we felt much apprehension that there would be. I kept myself at and about the office a considerable part of the evening, taking care not to be where I should attract notice to the office, but still keeping an eye to it myself. I removed the *Liberator* books and office books, and what little money we had, that night and the next; but since that time the city has worn so tranquil an aspect that I have not thought it worth while to take the trouble. We also took the precaution on Thursday to send off all the 'Oasis'[1] to a place of safety, together with the greater part of our volumes and some of the pamphlets. We have a few volumes in the office, just to meet demands which may be made on us.

You may keep yourself perfectly quiet where you are, till you get ready to come back. As for Garrison, I do not know but he would be safe enough here in the daytime, but in truth I don't feel myself competent to give any opinion on that point. . . .

Garrison is insane, and Thompson has embarked for England. These are the current stories now. We have received no intelligence from Mr. May.[2] The Utica news you will find in *S. J. May.*

[1] The anti-slavery volume edited by Mrs. L. M. Child in 1834.

[2] It came presently. He was mobbed at Montpelier, Vt., on the two days following the Boston mob, while addressing the Vermont State Anti-Slavery Society in the hall of the House of Representatives (*Lib.* 5:174; May's 'Recollections,' p. 153).

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the *Journal of Commerce*, though that paper evidently gives a distorted account of the matter.[1] It bears the stamp of inconsistency on its very face.

. . . We have not forgotten here, and do not mean to forget, Stanton's version of the Abolition Constitution: — Article first: All men are born free and equal. Article second: *Stick* and *Hang*.

Isaac Knapp to W. L. Garrison.

MS. A. S. Rooms, 9 a. m.

BOSTON, October 26, 1835.

My heart is made glad by the receipt of your letter of the 24th inst. Thanks be to God that you are now comparatively safe from the fury of a misguided and ferocious mob.

There has been no actual violence since you left. I have every reason, however, to believe that had you remained over Thursday night the house would have been attacked. The mobites, as you will perceive by all the papers of the city, with one exception,[2] are either directly or indirectly applauded for their outrages. They *know* that, so long as they confine their plunder and violence to the property and persons of anti-slavery men, they can act with perfect impunity. I say this in the fullest belief of its truth, and after having had an interview with the Mayor, Sheriff Parkman, and other civil officers. I most firmly believe it to be the determination of the authorities to use all their efforts to put down anti-slavery presses and anti-slavery discussions, rather than mobs. To effect their object, they magnify every danger and represent it to be impossible, should another disturbance occur, for them to have any power to prevent the mob from working their will in any way they may elect. As this fact becomes known to the public, now and then, there are individuals who boldly avow their determination to attend the next anti-slavery meeting fully equipped for military duty. These are not generally anti-slavery men, but men who cannot sacrifice their dearest rights without striking a blow.

Every demand against the *Liberator*, of course, is now rushing in. It is now in arrears to me $600, most of which I have borrowed from friends to meet current expenses. I am compelled to move this day, yet not a shelter can I obtain for love

[1] The mobbing of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society at its organization, on the day of the Boston mob (*Niles' Register*, 49 : 162).

[2] Hallett's *Daily Advocate*.

to me, to the cause, or for money. The only alternative I have is to store the materials for a while, and get the paper set up in driblets, as I can, in other offices. This plan is very expensive, and I cannot stand under it long unless the friends will advance money.

Your landlord is apprehensive that his house will be destroyed, and wishes you would give it up. This I think is the best way you can do; and it should be done immediately, while he is in the mood. Let the furniture, &c., be carefully packed and stored forthwith.

By all means stay in Brooklyn, if your dear friends there will risk the calamities which sheltering you may bring upon them. Even if there were no personal danger here, the cause, I believe, will be benefited by your rusticating awhile. My kind regards and best love to all the friends in Brooklyn.

That the God of all will continue to you the light of his countenance and his guardian care, throughout all time, is my earnest prayer.

Affectionately, and ever your unwavering friend.

George W. Benson to Henry E. Benson.

PROVIDENCE, October 26, 1835. *MS.*

I think Brother Garrison had better dispose of his house in Boston, store a part of his furniture in some place of safety, and make an arrangement to board in Brooklyn this winter, for which opinion there are several reasons: one is, he can edit his paper much better, not being liable to constant interruption. Again, . . . it would be much pleasanter for Sister Helen, and much cheaper for all excepting yourself and Brother Knapp.[1] . . .

There appears to my mind but one serious objection, and that is, that our opponents may say that he dares not return to Boston. That can be obviated, however, by his going there and spending several weeks, and after that going there occasionally, as his business or inclination may require. I do not believe that he would be in any danger of personal violence now or a few days hence. . . .

Tuesday, 27.—A Mr. Smith has just called to see me from Boston; says he wrote Brother Garrison yesterday, and that Sewall will write to-day. He represents everything as work-

[1] Knapp was still an inmate of the Garrisons'; and Henry Benson likewise, while clerk in the Anti-Slavery Office in Boston.

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ing admirably for the cause in Boston; that it is perfectly safe for him to return immediately; that they shall be able to start a daily very soon, &c. Our friends are anxious that Garrison should return. . . .

Boat arrived from New York. Glorious news! A letter in the *Commercial Advertiser* (Col. Stone's), written by a man not an abolitionist, says the Convention assembled at Utica; organized by appointing a chairman and enrolling six hundred members. A constitution was adopted for a State Society, when, being assailed by a mob, according to a previous understanding adjourned to Peterborough.[1] There an additional number of four hundred appeared and took their seats, making one thousand in all — the largest convention ever assembled in that State for any purpose whatever. Judge Jay was elected President. . . . Gerrit Smith made a speech of one hour and a half; said he had been the greatest obstacle in the way of abolition in that State, but that he was now thoroughly convinced and with them in the most odious features of their measures.

Lib. 5: 174, 175, 181, 190; *May's Recollections*, p. 162.

Samuel E. Sewall to W. L. Garrison.

MS.

BOSTON, October 27, 1835.

I received your letter yesterday morning. I have very little time which I can well spare to answer it. I see no objection to your remaining at Brooklyn for the present, except that your friends here will be sorry not to see you. You will certainly have less interruption there in preparing matter for the paper. I believe you would be perfectly safe in Boston now, and might appear here in open daylight without molestation. Yet as Mrs. Garrison could not fail to be perpetually anxious on your account, if you should take up your residence here just now, it seems to me you had better stay where you are. Your life was undoubtedly in imminent peril last Wednesday, and your escape under all the circumstances was almost miraculous; yet I do not believe even then that the mob *intended* to murder you, though heaven only knows what would have been the consequences if you had remained in the hands of an exasperated and phrensied populace. They might have committed a crime which they would abhor in cooler moments, and of which a few hours before they would have felt themselves incapable.

[1] To Gerrit Smith's home, on his invitation.

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You have no doubt been informed that Mr. Knapp has been obliged to remove the presses, &c., from the *Liberator* office. He felt bound to Mr. Mussy to remove. It will be difficult for him to find another room to print the paper in. I have recommended him to advertise for one, as the best mode of finding out if any place can be had. I trust there will not be even one week's interruption in the publication of the *Liberator*.

Benj. B. Mussey?

Thompson, you have probably heard, is at Isaac Winslow's in Danvers. Mrs. Chapman told me she saw him there. He was in fine spirits then, and nothing daunted. I should not think it safe for him to appear in Boston now. I still continue of the opinion I expressed when we had the meeting at my office, that Thompson ought to publish a statement of the material circumstances in relation to the charge brought against him. I think it would be believed, though I am far from supposing that it will do much towards allaying the public excitement against him.

Ante, p. 4.

The state of things here is lamentable. The *most respectable* people either openly justify or coldly disapprove the riot, while they are loud in their condemnation and abuse of the abolitionists, and especially of Thompson and Garrison, and the ladies who dared to hold a meeting in defiance of public opinion. The city authorities have not yet done anything in relation to the riot.[1] The general opinion of the abolitionists is, that some of the gentlemen who were most active in the mob ought to be prosecuted. This is my own opinion. I think nothing will do so much to prevent a repetition of these disgraceful proceedings as punishing a few reputable citizens. If such punishment can be inflicted, it will bring to their senses not only those who are punished, but many more who may feel that they deserve the same fate.

A public meeting such as you suggest would have a good effect if called by any persons but abolitionists. The editor of the *Advocate* has taken a manly stand on this subject, but I do not believe there is virtue enough in the community to sustain him in the call for a public meeting.

B. F. Hallett.

If you continue at Brooklyn, I shall be always ready to aid Mr. Knapp as far as I can in the publication of the *Liberator*.

Remember me affectionately to Mrs. Garrison and her father and his family, with whom I am a little acquainted. I pray

[1] This indifference and inaction, like the part played by Messrs. Stevens and Means in instigating the mob (*ante*, p. 10), was the measure of the sincerity of the Faneuil Hall resolutions deprecating violence.

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W. L. Garrison to Isaac Knapp.

BROOKLYN, CONN., October 28, 1835.

MS. Wednesday morning. MY DEAR PARTNER IN THE JOYS AND HONORS OF PERSECUTION: I wrote a few hasty lines to you by yesterday's mail, stating that no intelligence had reached me from Boston since my departure. Last evening, however, I was overwhelmed with joy on receiving, by the kindness of Mr. Howard, a huge bundle of newspapers and a letter from you, and also one from friend Burleigh for brother Henry. I sat up till 2 o'clock this morning, devouring the contents of the whole mass, and went to bed without feeling any fatigue, and have risen this morning with a cheerful heart. I shall now be able to drive my editorial quill somewhat freely.

October 24, 1835. After perusing your affectionate letter, the *Liberator* of Saturday came next in course. It gave me unalloyed satisfaction, as I think it is one of the best numbers we have ever published. Friend Burleigh's article, respecting the riot, is most admirably and graphically written, and I have scarcely anything to add to it. However, as something on the subject will naturally be expected from my pen, I shall make a simple statement of my seizure, committal to jail, etc. Accordingly, I have commenced it, and now send you the introduction. Altogether, it is probable that it will be somewhat protracted, though I hope not tedious. I also send you, for conspicuous publication, the excellent letter written by dear Thompson, (of whom, by the way, you write nothing), which may answer a good purpose for him at the present time.

MS. Marblehead Beach, Oct. 22, 1835; Lib. 5:175.

It seems to me that my presence in Boston is indispensable, on many accounts. Something must be done to sustain the *Liberator*, immediately, or how can it survive beyond the present volume? Something must be done, too, respecting the case of bro. Thompson. Then, as I am to break up housekeeping, it is proper that I should be present to give directions with regard to the disposal of things. Besides, I do not wish the charge to be made, that I have been driven out of Boston and dare not return. Unless you and the friends interpose a positive *veto*, therefore, I shall probably be in Boston on Saturday evening,

via Worcester. Henry and sister Anna will reach the city probably on Monday evening next. *Anna Benson.*

Shall I come, or shall I not? I wish to be governed by your advice and the appearance of things in the city—but my desire is to be with you a few days.

If you see Mr. Vinal, tell him that I shall give up the lease immediately—*i. e.*, as soon as I can remove my furniture. I dread to put up my things at auction, as the sacrifice must be great. But what else can I do?

You are right in surmising that there is a determination on the part of the city authorities to put down the anti-slavery cause in Boston, although they talk smoothly and make fair professions. They are not to be trusted. Old birds are not caught with chaff.

Probably you will be hindered in getting out the next *Liberator*, in consequence of being deprived of an office. Well, impossibilities must not be expected of us by our subscribers.

Give my very best thanks to friend Burleigh for his editorials, and ask him to write for this week's paper as much as he can until I get regulated.

Who wrote the Sonnet addressed to me? It is a fine one.[1] *Lib.* 5:171.

Write to me immediately, so that I may hear from you by Friday's mail and govern my course accordingly. I shall send you the rest of my story to-morrow. Make such selections as you think best. Publish as much of the Utica Convention and uproar as you deem interesting.

[1] *To W. L. Garrison.*

Joy to thee, Son of Trial! and so soon
  Hath it been given thee thy faith to prove?
Joy! so may Heaven only grant this boon,
  That naught on earth thy steadfastness may move!
Yet when, but yesternight, I saw thee go
  Surrounded by that fierce, insensate throng,
  Drunk with the wine of wrath, for evil strong,
I felt my soul with bitterest fears o'erflow.
O! with what earnestness of passion went,
  Forth from my heart, my whole soul after thee!
I knew that, though to bonds and prison sent,
  Thou from all stain of evil still wert free;
Yet a strange feeling, half of joy arose,
That friend of mine should have such men his foes.

Oct. 22, 1835.

The author, "An Old Acquaintance," is still unknown.

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Has my lost hat yet been found? I left my cloak at the Anti-Slavery Office — is it safe? Do not suffer my anti-slavery articles, at home, to be scattered. Hope Whittier will write something apropos respecting the Boston riot. My Helen is in good health, and so am I.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

MS.

BOSTON, November 4, 1835.

I seize my pen to inform you of my safe arrival in Boston, this evening — say, one hour ago. Of course, as it was somewhat dark when I arrived, it is not yet known by my mobocratic friends that I am here.

George Benson.

Father, I presume, will tell you, in his epistle, of the pleasant and comfortable ride that we had from Brooklyn to Providence. He seemed to be as little fatigued as myself at the end of the journey. We were both exceedingly disappointed at the

G. W. Benson.

absence of brother George. I saw, however, William Chace,[1] his father, Mr. Stanton, Mr. Goodell, and many other of our abolition brethren — and I need not add that we had a joyous meeting together. . . .

I rode to Boston in one of the open cars, filled with the "common people," and thus saved 50 cents — no trifling sum in these days of penury and persecution. I do not know that I was recognized on the way.

Instead of ordering the coachman to drive me to No. 23 Brighton Street, I thought it most prudent to be set down at

J. E. Fuller.

Friend Fuller's. Was just in season to eat supper there, though he and his wife had gone to Newton. After tea, friend Tillson took my arm, and we sallied out into the street — for my home, or rather the place that was once *our* home. But we took another route — for he communicated a *secret* to me — viz., that our noble and persecuted brother, George Thompson, was staying at Friend Southwick's,[2] (unknown even to the abolition friends generally), and thither we went to see him. Found him in good health and spirits. After mutual gratulations and a rapid conversation, though brief, I said, "Give me a sheet of paper, ink and a pen, for I must not fail to

[1] The partner of George W. Benson.

[2] Joseph (husband of Thankful) Southwick, of the Quaker stock of Cassandra Southwick, commemorated in Whittier's poem. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments *(ante,* 1: 397), and was elected President of the Mass. A. S. Society in 1835.

send a line to my anxious wife by to-night's mail." Just at that moment, Henry and friend Burleigh burst into the room, and then Mrs. Grew, Miss Sullivan, and Miss Parker. What a collection of raving fanatics and dangerous incendiaries! A happy meeting this! *Henry Benson. Catherine M. Sullivan. Mary Parker.*

I have left them all below, for a few moments, to scribble these few imperfect and scarcely legible lines, which Henry will take to the post-office immediately.

Now, my dear wife, disburden your mind of uneasiness as much as possible, on my account. Be assured I will not *needlessly* run into danger, but shall use all *proper* precaution for my safety. I feel excellently well, both in body and mind. All the dear ladies, with Henry, Thompson, and Burleigh, send the best remembrances to you. Mr. Knapp I have not yet seen, but shall probably see him this evening. Do not yet know where I shall sleep to-night — probably here or at bro. Fuller's.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

MS. Saturday afternoon.

23 Brighton Street, Boston,
November 7, 1835.

You perceive that I write in the house that we fondly expected to call our home, in which we have spent so many happy hours, but which can be our home no longer. Everything looks, if possible, *more* than natural — at least seems dearer to me than ever. The carpets — tables — chairs — sofa — looking-glasses, &c., &c., seem almost to have found a tongue, to welcome my return, and to congratulate me upon my escape out of the jaws of the lion. The clock ticks an emphatical and sonorous welcome. As for puss, she finds it a difficult matter, with all her purring and playing, to express her joy. Then, to pass to the reception which I receive at the hands of my friends: it is so kind, and sympathetic, and joyful, that one might almost covet to be mobbed, to obtain such a return. One anonymous individual has made me a present of forty-five dollars,[1] which comes most seasonably.

I wrote to you on the evening of my arrival, at the house of my esteemed friend Southwick. That night I slept at home, in

[1] Accompanied by this note: "Mr. Garrison is requested to receive the enclosed trifle from a friend who owes to him, (under God), in expanded Christian affections and in rectified principles, what money can never repay" (*Lib.* 5:179).

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our chamber — and as you were absent, I permitted puss to occupy the outside of the bed, as a substitute. We reposed very lovingly until morning, without any alarm from mobs without, or disturbance from rats within. Mr. Knapp rose as regularly and as early to prepare breakfast as if he were hired "help," and, Henry completing the trio — nay, Mr. Burleigh made a fourth companion — we sat down and partook of a very comfortable entertainment. . . .

Henry Benson.

Well, after breakfast on Thursday morning, I sallied out into the streets to see and to be seen — "the observed of all observers," peradventure. After all, I did not prove to be so great a curiosity as I had anticipated: very few stared at me or seemed to know me, notwithstanding the previous exhibition of myself to four or five thousand "gentlemen of property and standing from all parts of the city." I went directly to the Anti-Slavery Rooms, (having no printing-office that I could first visit), and there busied myself some time in shaking hands with various friends, answering inquiries, and asking questions. In a short time, a long procession marched by the office, with a band of music in full blast, and followed by a squad of spectators; and what do you think they had with them? It was a large board, on which were drawn two figures, quite conspicuously — viz., George Thompson and a black woman. Over the head of Thompson were the words, "The Foreign Emissary" — and the black woman asking him, "When are we going to have another meeting, brother Thompson?" It is fortunate, perhaps, that this company did not know that I was then in the Anti-Slavery Office — else they might have stopped in front of it, made a demonstration of contempt, and excited another uproar. In this shameless manner they paraded through the streets until they were satisfied, and then went out of the city to make a target of Mr. T. and his sable companion. The city authorities made not the slightest attempt to interfere. As it was possible that our house might be disturbed that night, I slept at Mr. Fuller's, and last night at Mr. Southwick's; but everything has been perfectly quiet in the city — and although I have walked freely in all parts of Boston, yet no one has insulted me, or called for any manifestation of displeasure. Nay, many talk of putting me on the list of representatives to the Legislature, to be chosen on Monday next. There is a strong reaction already in our favor, and the news from the interior is most encouraging. . . .

J. E. Fuller.

J. Southwick.

Mr. Thompson will probably sail for England in the course of a fortnight — but this must be kept private. Mrs. T. is going

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to make a visit to her sister in Baltimore, and will follow her husband in the course of a month or two. . . . Thus we are to lose our eloquent and devoted brother — but he will still labor for us in England. Heaven's choicest blessings go with him and his! It will be almost like tearing myself in twain when he departs. . . .

I have seen the Misses Weston,[1] and they speak of you in the kindest terms. On asking them where I could get a room to store our furniture, they said that they occupied a large house, with scarcely anything in it, and I might fill it if I chose. Accordingly I shall move the things there next week, excepting such as Henry and Knapp may want to furnish their room.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

BOSTON, November 9, 1835. *MS.*

Yesterday (Sabbath) forenoon, I concluded not to go to church, because, to confess the truth, I had not replaced my torn pantaloons,[2] and as the weather was too warm to justify the wearing of a cloak. About eleven o'clock, one of Mrs. Southwick's daughters came down to our house, and gave me the startling information that my dear friend Thompson would leave the country in the course of an hour — that he was going to sail in a packet for St. John — and that he wished to see me immediately. Of course, I went in all haste and with much *New Brunswick.*

[1] Sisters of Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman; a Weymouth (Mass.) family, daughters of Warren and Anne Bates Weston, of Pilgrim descent. Mrs. Chapman's services to Mr. Garrison were inestimable, her co-operation with him perfect; and on her, more than on any other woman, the conduct of the cause rested. She was baptized into it in 1834, became the soul of the Boston Female A. S. Society, and from 1840 her administrative energy maintained the organ of the American A. S. Society, and so virtually the Society itself. She was, in her 'Right and Wrong' series (1836-40), the chronicler of a critical epoch, and in countless other ways her pen was effectively employed, both in prose and in verse, in the *Liberator*, the *Liberty Bell*, the *Standard*, etc. She was born in 1806; her husband, Henry Grafton Chapman, in 1804. He was the son of Henry and Sarah Greene Chapman of Boston. The elder Chapman was the only one of those then reckoned the Boston merchants *par excellence* to make the anti-slavery cause his own: his wife paid, through the Boston Female A. S. Society, the counsel fee in the Med case (see hereafter). Both Mrs. M. W. Chapman and her husband joined the ranks of the abolitionists against the earnest remonstrances of their pastor, Dr. Channing, and under the condemnation of all their friends and acquaintances.

[2] Namely, of his "best suit," destroyed by the mob.

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trepidation; for the idea of separating from him — perhaps till the close of life — filled my soul with anguish. I found his wife in tears. . . .

My heart swells with sorrow, my cheeks burn with indignation, when I think of the treatment which Thompson has received at the hands of the people of this country. If he were a murderer, or parricide, he could not be treated more shamefully than he has been. To think of his being in danger of assassination, even in broad daylight — nay, even in the streets of Boston! Shame — infamy upon the city! But I have no time to moralize — you will feel deeply, without the aid of my comments. Suffice it to say, Mr. Chapman took Mr. T. down to the wharf in a carriage, saw him safely on board the packet, and the vessel move down the harbor. So we trust he is now on his way to a place of safety and rest. From St. John he will sail for England. Mr. Knapp will probably go down to him,[1] to convey his baggage safely.

H. G. Chapman.

Our election, to-day, has passed off quietly. Several votes have been cast for me, but how many is not yet known.[2] We have not been disturbed at the house, and I walk through the city without receiving any insult. . . .

Ante, p. 48.

P. S. I am now at the house, and have broken open the letter to enjoin secrecy upon you and the rest of the family, respecting Thompson's departure. Here, in Boston, we shall say nothing about it, for the present. . . .

New subscribers to the *Liberator* still continue to come in — not less than a dozen to-day. Am much obliged to the mob.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

MS.

BOSTON, November 14, 1835.

Well — I expected it. Expected what? Why, a gentle scolding for speaking of Mrs. Garrison's "delicate" state of health, in the *Liberator*. My dear wife is much more sensitive than the Queen of England, in a matter like this. But necessity was laid upon me thus to write, in order to exculpate myself from the base charge of cowardice preferred against me by the newspaper press. I beg your pardon — or, rather, it is the duty of the mob to ask pardon of us both, for reducing us to such a dilemma. . . .

Ante, p. 29.

[1] In the end Henry Benson was sent.

[2] From 70 to 80, all told.

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Was ever married man more unfortunate with houses? Four times within sixteen months have I removed my furniture, and we have the authority of Benjamin Franklin for saying that three removals are as bad as a fire; so that I have one fire and a third! . . .

Our city is quiet enough. The piece in the *Liberator*, to-day, respecting the Mayor,[1] will probably make some talk. The ladies[2] hold their meeting at Francis Jackson's house next week. *Lib.* 5 : 182.

In the afternoon of the day appointed for this meeting, November 18, Mr. Garrison took the cars for Providence to rejoin his wife at Brooklyn. On the day following Thanksgiving he wrote to G. W. Benson:

"A letter from friend Burleigh, at the Anti-Slavery Rooms, informs me that letters had just been received from Henry and Thompson. Both arrived safely, and had good passages. . . . What a mighty void is created by the return of G. T.! It is like the loss of a general to an army, whose presence gave inspiration and courage to the humblest soldier. Who now shall go forth to argue our cause in public with subtle sophists and insolent scoffers? It is true, we have the lion-hearted, invincible Weld, at the West, and our strong and indefatigable brother Stanton in Rhode Island; but the withdrawal of Thompson seems like the loss of many agents. . . . *MS. Brooklyn, Nov. 27, 1835.* *Henry Benson.* *G. Thompson.* *T. D. Weld.* *H. B. Stanton.*

"By the way—looking at the thing in its true light, this custom of appointing one day in the year to be specially thankful for the good gifts of God is an absurdity, tending, I think, to keep up the notion that it is not very material whether we are particularly thankful, or not, during the remainder of the year. The appointment, too, of a thanksgiving by a civil officer is strictly a union of Church and State. I am growing more and more hostile to outward forms and ceremonies and observances, as a religious duty, and trust I am more and more appreciating the nature and enjoying the privileges of that liberty wherewith the obedient soul is made free. How can a people fast or be thankful at the bidding or request of any man or body of men?

[1] The Rev. H. C. Wright's "Hancock" article, entitled, "Theodore Lyman, the Mayor of Boston, Co-operating with a Mob," and preceded by the motto — *Qui non vetat, cum debeat et possit, Jubet.*

[2] The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society.

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"Gerrit Smith has at last waived all his scruples and joined our ranks. No doubt you have seen his letter in the *Emancipator*. You perceive he boggles a little at some of us and our measures, but never mind—he will soon be as rampant as any of us. We must remember that he has been our antagonist, and that he constituted one of the main pillars of the Colonization Society.[1] Whether he has wholly swung clear of that Society does not appear; indeed, he does not allude to it. But as he declared in his speech at Peterboro', that he could go with us even in our most odious sentiments, and as he has now connected himself with a Society which aims to destroy his long-cherished scheme, he must be strangely inconsistent if he can still support the Colonization Society. He certainly deserves much credit for the Christian manliness and magnanimity which he manifests in joining our ranks at this perilous crisis. So much for the mob at Utica!"

W. L. Garrison to Mary Benson, at Providence.

MS.

BROOKLYN, November 27, 1835.

Much as my mind is absorbed in the anti-slavery cause, there are other great subjects that frequently occupy my thoughts, upon which much light remains to be thrown, and which are of the utmost importance to the temporal and eternal welfare of man. As to the Peace question, I am more and more convinced that it is the duty of the followers of Christ to suffer themselves to be defrauded, calumniated and barbarously treated, without resorting either to their own physical energies, or to the force of human law, for restitution or punishment. It is a difficult lesson to learn. . . .

Right and Wrong, 1836, (1) p. 94. *H. Martineau's Autobiography*, 1: 347.

Harriet Martineau, the distinguished authoress from England, has . . . shown true moral courage in attending the meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, and avowing her approval of its principles.

W. L. Garrison to G. W. Benson, at Providence.

MS.

BROOKLYN, November 30, 1835.

The *Liberator* gets along tolerably well during my absence; but the proof-sheet is not read so critically as I could desire.

[1] At the annual meeting of the Colonization Society, in January, 1834, Mr. Smith moved the raising of a subscription of $50,000, heading the list with a pledge on his own part of $5,000. Seventeen other pledges were made at the same time, amounting to but $4,570 (*Niles' Register*, 45: 394).

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Typographical blunders meet my eye rather too frequently. But it is a blundering world. . . .

Accompanying this is an excellently written epistle, both as to its composition and its penmanship, from Rachel Robinson, wife of Rowland T. Robinson, of Ferrisburgh, Vt. . . . Not a particle of the productions of slave labor, whether it be rice, sugar, coffee, cotton, molasses, tobacco, or flour, is used in her family, and thus her practice corresponds admirably with her doctrine. But I cannot say that I have as yet arrived at clear satisfaction upon this point, so as to be able to meet the difficulties that cluster in our path.

Mr. Sabin has started the rumor that the *Liberator* is to be printed in this village! and considerable oppugnation has been manifested, it is said, on the part of the "friends of the Constitution." They will not have it here — not they! This is very amusing, and serves to lessen the amount of melancholy in our sombre world. Think you, the dignity and self-importance of little villages are behind those of great cities? I tell you, nay. Did not Canterbury take the lead? And did not New York, Philadelphia and Boston obsequiously follow?

You must not calculate upon my being present at your State Convention in February. A crisis comes at or about that time to me and mine, which is of too much importance to allow me to be absent. It relates, you know, to a question of *domestic emancipation* — and let the South interfere if it dare!

W. L. Garrison to Henry E. Benson, at Boston.

BROOKLYN, December 5, 1835. *MS.*

Your safe arrival at Boston has removed a load of anxiety from all our minds, and filled us with joy. . . .

The *Liberator* was received yesterday, and its contents eagerly and critically perused. Bro. Thompson's farewell letter is most happily conceived, and powerfully expressed, and well calculated to revive the hearts of our abolition brethren. With what alarm and fury will our enemies read his promise to expose their baseness and cruelty before the people of Great Britain — even to call them by name! He will hardly be safe from their murderous designs, even with the Atlantic rolling between. How earnestly do I desire that he may have a safe voyage, and that all those vitally impor- *Lib.* 5 : 195.

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tant materials which he has so industriously accumulated,[1] may also obtain a safe conveyance! . . .

How many new subscribers has the *Liberator* received since the riot up to the present time? and what is proposed as to its continuance another year? I wish it could be enlarged, *safely* — but it would be hazardous to make the experiment. The engraving we will lay aside, and substitute a plain head — *The Liberator*.[2] This alteration will admit of more reading in the paper. Let the present motto remain — we cannot have a better, although I made it. There's egotism for you!

Ante, 1:219.

I long to hear that friend Knapp has succeeded in hiring a printing-office, especially as the year is so near its close; for I know it must be exceedingly vexatious to be under the necessity of resorting to other printing establishments.

I send a letter to your care for bro. H. C. Wright, which I wish him to receive as soon as convenient. He is a valuable acquisition to our cause — a fearless, uncompromising and zealous Christian.

A.A. Phelps.

It strengthens and animates me to hear that bro. Phelps is to remain in Boston. You know how highly I appreciate his worth, and what unwavering confidence I place in his judgment, integrity and devotion. His presence, with bro. Wright's co-operation, will make my absence from the city more excusable. . . .

I perceive by the *Christian Register* that Dr. Channing has at last given publicity to his thoughts on slavery. Send me the work in the next bundle of papers, for I am anxious to review it. The extract from it in the *Register* is singularly weak and inconclusive — but I suppose it is the most rotten spot in the volume, else Prof. Willard would not have quoted it as the soundest. . . .

Sidney Willard; ante, 1:470.

So, it seems, because I suffered a communication to go into the *Liberator*, reprimanding the Mayor for his pusillanimous conduct, our friend E. M. P. Wells[3] has captiously ordered his paper to be stopped. Very well — "Good-by." The pretext is most ridiculous. See what it is to have respect unto persons! Surely, "An Abolitionist" and "Another Abolitionist" — two

[1] Six volumes of extracts from Northern and Southern papers, besides tracts, volumes, placards, etc. (*Lib.* 5:195).

[2] This change, happily, was not made.

[3] An Episcopal clergyman, Principal of the Boston Asylum and Farm School, of which Mayor Lyman was President and a liberal benefactor (see Josiah Quincy's 'Figures of the Past,' p. 5).

against one — ought to atone for the essay of "Hancock." I am disgusted with this squeamish regard for Mr. Lyman, and think it very unwise, as well as positively criminal, for any to attempt to exonerate him from blame. CHAP. I. 1835.

Ellis Gray Loring[1] *to W. L. Garrison, at Brooklyn.*

BOSTON, Dec. 5, 1835.

I write you in behalf of Miss Susan Cabot, a sister of our friend Mrs. Follen, and a firm supporter of the abolition faith. She is about to pass some weeks in Philadelphia, and has a strong desire to become acquainted with Miss Grimké, who wrote the admired letter in the *Liberator* addressed to you. . . . *Eliza Lee Follen.* *A. Grimké.* *Ante*, 1:518.

I have just read with intense interest Dr. Channing's tract on Slavery. It is the most elaborate work on the *philosophy* of Anti-Slavery I have ever seen, and appears most seasonably when iniquity is claiming to pass for an angel of light. I am grieved at some few censures of the abolitionists in it, put forth, I think, on insufficient grounds, but nineteen-twentieths of the book are sound in principle, and I will not grudgingly bestow my gratitude and praise for this splendid testimony to the truth.

You see, I presume, the storm of abuse which Miss Martineau has called on herself from the newspapers, for her independent conduct at the ladies' meeting. In addition to

[1] Mr. Loring was born in Boston, in 1803, the only son of a mother widowed shortly after his birth. At the Latin School, where he was distinguished for scholarship, he had a friend and companion in R. W. Emerson. A gentle and delicate boy, he greatly endeared himself to his classmates and his teachers. He was admitted to the bar in 1827, and attained immediate success. His espousal of the anti-slavery cause at once cost him the larger number of his clients; and the sudden coldness of the Ticknors, Prescotts, and other leading Boston families put an end to his hitherto intimate social relations with them. He never regretted what he thus forfeited, and never wavered in his adhesion to the cause, in the management of which his counsel was invaluable. His decisive support of the *Liberator* in its deadly pecuniary crises has been already shown. No one of the Boston circle of abolitionists was more beloved for his amiable spirit, or more trusted for judgment and integrity. (See the tributes in *Lib.* June 4, 18, 1858.) At least half of Dr. Channing's anti-slavery reputation belongs to Ellis Gray Loring. "It was from his hand, marked with his now so familiar writing," said Wendell Phillips, "that I received the first anti-slavery pamphlet, in the record of his appearance before the [Mass.] Senate to protest against the attempt to punish meetings like these with the State Prison" (*Lib.* 28:91).

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this, she is *beset* in private, incessantly, to give some *explanation*, which may be published. She quietly replies that the facts do not admit of explanation: that if any one wishes to know what she said, and how she said it, he must look at "the perfectly faithful report" in the *Liberator*. She says she spoke of her full agreement with the *principles* of the abolitionists, because she knew what they were; but that she did not know enough of their *measures* to venture to pronounce upon them. She feels evidently a very strong interest in the Anti-Slavery Society, though she has taken up Dr. Channing's notion (a mistaken one, I think) of the superiority of *individual* to *associated* action. On our corner-stone principles she is clear and strong. She believes in the propriety and duty of creating and exerting a moral influence against slavery, in the free States. She told me yesterday, that if she could control events in the U. S. she would emancipate *immediately* every slave in it. She goes even further than *some* of us, for she denies that the slaveholder has *any* RIGHT to claim compensation, if his slaves should be taken from him. (You know some of us think that he has a *legal*, not a *moral* right to regard the emancipation of his slaves as the taking away of *property.)* Respecting, as I do, Miss Martineau's profound judgment and wide information (second only to the truth and sweetness of her moral character), I am gratified at her adhering to *immediate* emancipation, as well in an economical as in a moral point of view.

Lib. 5: 187.

Miss M. wishes to know you. She is to be at my house about Jan. 10th. I hope you will be in Boston at that time. What is the probable prospect?

W. L. Garrison to S. J. May, at Boston.

BROOKLYN, Dec. 5, 1835.

I have just read the scandalous attack upon Miss Martineau, in the *Daily Advertiser*, to which you refer in your letter. It will confirm her in the faith, for it is too passionate to convince or alarm a steadfast and enlightened mind like hers. To think that the *Advertiser* has at last become so vulgar and malignant as to quote with deference and strong approval the vile slang of the *Courier and Enquirer!* Mr. Hale has lately had a failure in his pecuniary matters, and he now seems to be zealous to become a bankrupt in his editorial character as soon as pos-

Lib. 5: 201.

sible.[1] We ought not to be surprised, however, that the attendance of Miss Martineau at the anti-slavery meeting creates a stir among our opponents, for it is as if a thunderbolt had fallen upon their heads. I believe, could they have foreseen this event, to prevent its occurrence they would have permitted even George Thompson to address the ladies without interruption, and have chosen to sacrifice the honor and glory accruing from a mobocratic victory. It is thus that the wicked are taken in their own craftiness, and the counsels of the froward are carried headlong. Surely, it is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in princes.

Well, it is announced that the great Dr. Channing has published his thoughts upon the subject of slavery! Of course, we must now all fall back, and "hide our diminished heads." The book I will not condemn until I peruse it; but I do not believe it is superior either in argument or eloquence to many of our own publications. However, I am heartily glad that he is now committed upon this subject; for, however cautiously and tenderly he may have handled it, if he does not soon have a Southern hornets' nest about his ears, then it will be because hornets have respect unto the persons of men! They will sting him unmercifully, and he will suffer greatly if he is not provided in advance with the genuine abolition panacea. . . .

If the extract from the work [in the *Christian Register*] be a fair sample of the whole of it, it is weak and incoherent enough — indeed, that alone is enough to spoil a good book, especially a book upon moral reform. The Doctor says there are *slaveholders* who "deserve great praise." Why? Because they profess to "deplore and abhor the institution." So did all the slaveholders until they were compelled to tear off their hypocritical mask; and now they go in a body — synods, presbyteries, and all — in open advocacy of the bloody system! But the Doctor's meritorious slaveholders "believe that partial emancipation, in the present condition of society, would bring unmixed evil on bond and free." So do all of them — slave-drivers, slave-traders, and slave-robbers! But these *good* souls further believe, that "they are bound to continue the *relation* [what a nice, soft term!] until it shall be dissolved by compre-

[1] The reference is to Nathan Hale, whose offence has been surpassed in the second generation. The Rev. Edward Everett Hale, in a seventy years' review of the course of the Boston *Advertiser* (Jan. 19, 1883), glories in its having been "pitiless in its denunciations of such foreign carpet-baggers as the Thompsons and Martineaus"!

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hensive and systematic measures of the State"! "They are appalled by what seem to them the perils and difficulties of liberating multitudes, born and brought up to that condition"! Here is a mantle of charity(?) broad enough to cover the sin of the world.

I hope uncommon pains will be taken by our abolition brethren to circulate large quantities of this week's *Liberator* before the types are distributed. Bro. Thompson's letter is full of the majesty of truth and the power of love. The defense of his character is most happily written, and together they ought to traverse the length and breadth of the land.

Lib. 5: 194.

"He has gone!" wrote Mr. Garrison in the *Liberator*, of George Thompson's departure. "The paragon of modern eloquence — the benefactor of two nations — the universal philanthropist — the servant of God, and the friend of all mankind — is no longer in our midst. . . . He has gone! But not to cease from his labors in the cause of mercy. He has a mighty work to perform in England. . . . It is by the pressure of public sentiment abroad, as well as at home, that the bloody system is to be tumbled into ruins." Only the lapse of years, in fact, could disclose the full import of that American mission which Mr. Garrison had instigated, and which, even had it ended here, must have been pronounced successful.[1] The moral and material alliance with England, already ensured by his own visit to that country, was now, however, to be indissolubly cemented by Mr. Thompson's expulsion from the United States. In a parting letter to Henry C. Wright, dated St. John, N. B., November 25, 1835, the fugitive laid down the programme to be faithfully carried out in his native land:

MS.

"In leaving America I consulted *usefulness*, not *safety*. Understand me. I believe my life was sought. I believe many were prepared to take it — many more prepared to rejoice over the deed; and I left your country under the conviction that I

1 "I keep within the bounds when I say that my mission has far transcended my most sanguine expectations" (Geo. Thompson at Glasgow, Jan. 25, 1836, *Lib.* 6: 69. See also 'Letters and Addresses by Geo. Thompson during his Mission in the United States,' Boston, 1837).

could not go abroad without the almost certain prospect of death. But still, had there been reason to believe that by staying and falling on your soil, I should thereby have done the will of God, and the best thing to advance the cause, I trust I should not have hesitated to remain and be offered up. The finger of Providence seemed to point to Great Britain as a scene of labor not to be neglected for the problematical good which a longer continuance in the U. S. might effect. *There* was a field wide, open, secure, rich, waving already, white unto the harvest — the public in the fittest possible state to receive the information I had collected, and the appeals I was qualified to found upon that evidence. After viewing the matter deliberately, and I trust prayerfully, I came to the decision that the path of duty lay across the waters; and then, through the length and breadth of the kingdom, publishing everywhere the wrongs of the American slave, and calling upon man, woman and child to join in one united and overwhelming remonstrance against the unmatched wickedness of American slavery."

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On this side, meantime, Mr. Thompson was leaving behind him an imposing number of anti-slavery societies almost called into being by his eloquence,[1] an increased zeal among those already existing, and the reputation (*teste* Peleg Sprague) of having given "their greatest prevalence and intensity" to the anti-slavery doctrines he had been invited to propagate.[2] Nowhere was the impression made by his year's labors more profound than at the South. From them Jefferson Davis dates the "public agitation" for abolition, and the deliberate attempt to dissolve the Union; and the author of a notable secession work[3] likewise declares Thompson to have been "the controlling spirit of this effort to array North and South on geographical lines," and renews the charge that he went about "repeating in conversation that 'every slaveholder should have his throat cut.'"

Ante, 1:497.

Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1:33.

[1] Of the 328 societies reported as formed during the year 1835–36 (*Lib.* 6:78), a significant number must have been the immediate product of Mr. Thompson's exertions.

[2] Mr. Thompson had delivered no less than 220 addresses (*Lib.* 6:49).

[3] 'The Cradle of the Confederacy, by Joseph Hodgson.' Mobile, 1876. (Page 222.)

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But, more than in all this, the significance of Mr. Thompson's experience is to be found in the demonstration which it afforded of Southern control over Northern liberties. None too soon it was discovered that this execrated Englishman's right to enjoy the immunities guaranteed, under the laws, to every inhabitant of the Union, could not be denied without involving the suppression of native freedom of speech, and the imperilling of every American's life who refused to be dumb on the subject of slavery. Mr. Garrison's vicarious suffering for his foreign colleague proved that the assault of slavery was directed not against individuals or against nationalities, but against rights the most lawful, the most sacred, the most indispensable. The liberties of the race at the North (at the South, after the ransacking of the mails with the connivance of the Federal Administration, they were completely extinguished) were now put upon the defensive in the persons of the despised abolitionists. The struggle for the next decade, whatever its phases, was to turn upon the right to speak and to publish. It was the necessary prelude to any attack upon slavery in its own domain, and had been foreseen by Mr. Garrison when he answered for himself the mocking question, "Why don't you go South?" (after having been there), and went and set up his standard under the shadow of Bunker Hill. It was precipitated, as it deserved to be, by Mr. Thompson's coming to America; and the debt of gratitude the North owed him for his instrumentality in arousing it to a sense of its own servitude,[1] will only seem greater as time goes on.

[1] For a lofty expression of the true Northern and American spirit,—"the spirit of the Puritans and of the principles of '76," as John Farmer phrased it (MS. Feb. 13, 1836), one can never point to anything better than Francis Jackson's reply to S. J. May's letter conveying the thanks of the Massachusetts A. S. Society for his hospitality after the mob to the Female A. S. Society; *Lib.* v. 191; 'Right and Wrong in Boston,' 1836, [1] p. 98):

"But in tendering them the use of my dwelling-house, sir, I not only had in view their accommodation, but also, according to my humble measure, to preserve and perpetuate the rights of free discussion, which has been shamefully trampled on. A great principle has been assailed—one which lies at the very foundation of our republican institutions.

CHAP. I.

1835.

We return to Mr. Garrison's correspondence:

W. L. Garrison to Henry E. Benson, at Boston.

BROOKLYN, December 10, 1835. *MS.*

I am glad that bro. Phelps is to labor for the regeneration of Connecticut. He is admirably qualified for the work in this State. True, it will be arduous—but what citadel of prejudice or oppression can withstand the artillery of truth, and "the sacramental host of God's elect"? . . . *A. A. Phelps.*

I have read Channing's work. It abounds with useful truisms expressed in polished terms, but, as a whole, is an inflated, inconsistent and slanderous production. I would not give one dozen of Rankin's "Letters" for one hundred copies of Channing's essay. *Ante*, I: 305.

You must apprise me, without delay, of the result of the meeting respecting the *Liberator*. If my presence is indispensably necessary in Boston, I will go on immediately; but if not, I had rather not incur the loss of time and the cost of the journey, needlessly. . . .

I wish bro. Knapp to take special care of all the pieces I send, and make a choice selection from my selections. On the *Isaac Knapp.*

"If a large majority of this community choose to turn a deaf ear to the wrongs which are inflicted upon their countrymen in other portions of the land—if they are content to turn away from the sight of oppression, and 'pass by on the other side'—so it must be.

"But when they undertake in any way to impair or annul my right to speak, write, and publish upon any subject, and more especially upon enormities which are the common concern of every lover of his country and his kind—so it must not be—so it shall not be, if I for one can prevent it. Upon this great right let us hold on at all hazards. And should we, in its exercise, be driven from public halls to private dwellings, one house at least shall be consecrated to its preservation. And if, in defence of this sacred privilege, which man did not give me, and shall not (if I can help it) take from me, this roof and these walls shall be levelled to the earth, let them fall if they must; they cannot crumble in a better cause. They will appear of very little value to me after their owner shall have been whipt into silence. . . .

"Happily, one point seems already to be gaining universal assent, that slavery cannot long survive free discussion. Hence the efforts of the friends and apologists of slavery to break down this right. And hence the immense stake which the enemies of slavery hold, in behalf of freedom and mankind, in its preservation. The contest is therefore substantially between liberty and slavery.

"As slavery cannot exist with free discussion, so neither can liberty breathe without it. Losing this, we, too, shall be no longer freemen indeed, but little, if at all, superior to the millions we now seek to emancipate."

CHAP. I. 1835. first page of next paper, I wish him to put the extracts from McDuffie's Message[1] and those of the other governors which accompany this. They form one complete picture.

Amos A. Phelps to W. L. Garrison, at Brooklyn.

MS. FARMINGTON, CONN., December 10, 1835.

I regretted exceedingly that I did not find you in Boston the other day, on several accounts. . . . And first, in reference to Dr. Channing's book. You have doubtless seen it before this, and very likely have begun to dissect it and to set Dr. C. over against Dr. C. Be this as it may, I hope you will take it in hand and give it a *thorough review*. Some of our good Unitarian friends, I think, are biassed in their judgment of it by their partialities for the Dr. They need to see the Dr. tested by an impartial and unbiassed pen. And I have another reason for saying the Dr. should be thus reviewed. On my return I called on Dr.

[1] This message of Governor McDuffie to the Legislature of South Carolina (*Lib.* 5:198) contained the whole gospel of slavery. Beginning with the pictorial and other incendiary documents sent to South Carolina, which were descanted upon at length with the most extraordinary Southern rhetoric, the Governor designated Thompson as "the felon renegado who flees from the justice of his country," and declared it to be his deliberate opinion that interference like that of the abolitionists with slavery should be made punishable "by death without benefit of clergy," and the authors of it regarded as "enemies of the human race." South Carolina should set the example, and also demand of the North, on grounds of "international law," that it punish the agitators. Slavery existed by the will of God, Africans being fit for no other condition. Emancipation would be a curse to them: they were better off than English operatives or Irish peasants, were cheerful and contented. Servitude was necessary in every community that had ever existed or should exist; and in another generation the North might be driven to choose between its adoption and anarchy. It superseded the necessity for an order of nobility. If the slaves were freed and made voters, no rational man could live in such a state of society. "Domestic slavery, therefore, instead of being a political evil, is *the corner-stone of our republican edifice*." The North should be informed that the South makes no distinction between ultimate and immediate emancipation. As the abolitionists cannot hope to convince slaveholders, they must mean to instigate the North to Federal emancipation, against which the Legislature should protest. Finally, cotton and slavery were inseparable. For the other gubernatorial messages referred to above, see *Lib.* 5:205: Governor Lumpkin, of Georgia ("Upon this subject [slavery] we can hear no arguments: our opinions are unalterably fixed"); Governor Swain of North Carolina (the North should suppress abolitionism "totally and promptly"); and Governors Wolf, of Pennsylvania, and Vroom, of New Jersey, who deprecate agitation but deny that it can be legally repressed.

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Hawes, Hartford, and found that he had come out as boldly on the subject, Thanksgiving Day, *as he dare*. He has since been requested to preach the sermon to the Free Church in Hartford. He told me [he] thought of drawing it up with more care, and, after preaching it there, give it to the public. I replied, I hoped he would *if* it was orthodox. He said, O yes, yes, he was true to the principles, but then he couldn't go exactly with *all* our movements; and intimated that he had taken some exceptions to them—just enough, to use his own expression, to "save his shins."

The plain English of the whole of it, then, is this, that he—*and he is but one of a hundred such*—can't keep still any longer on the subject, but cannot bear to come out on the subject without taking sundry exceptions, just to "save their shins" from the kicks we have had to take, as well as to seem to have some justification for their long and guilty silence. Winslow, I understand, is coming out also with his famous sermons. Others, I doubt not, will follow suit. In this state of things, it seems to me all-important that every such man who comes out should be reviewed without respect of his person; and where he is naked, let his nakedness be made visible. It is better to keep the rod over them, and make them hold still, than to have them come out mere go-betweenities. Still, while we show them no mercy, let us treat them with due respect, and acknowledge the good they say, and thank them for it, and at the same time make the public see how, by their contradictions, they eat and re-eat their own words. I intend, if Wright wishes it, to review Channing in the *Quarterly Magazine*.

Rev. Hubbard Winslow; ante, 1:478.

Elizur Wright, Jr.

W. L. Garrison to Henry E. Benson, at Boston.

BROOKLYN, December 15, 1835. *MS.*

The bundle of papers, *via* Worcester, was safely conveyed and put into my hands on Friday evening, and great was my surprise, as well as pleasure, to receive a copy of the *Liberator*. In my article on Mr. Cheever's sentence, you perceive I broached my ultra doctrines respecting reliance upon the civil arm and appeals to the law. Tracy will probably nibble at it, and perhaps start anew the cry of "French Jacobinism!" but so be it. I am more and more convinced that the doctrine is inseparably connected with perfect Christian obedience.[1]

Dec. 11, *Dec.* 12, 1835.

Ed. Boston Recorder. Ante, 1:472.

[1] The Rev. George B. Cheever, of Salem, Mass., had been convicted in June of libel for a temperance allegory entitled 'Deacon Giles's Distillery,'

W. L. Garrison to Thomas Shipley, at Philadelphia.

MS.

BROOKLYN, December 17, 1835.

Be assured that I am deeply affected in view of the sympathy and regard which some of my beloved friends in Philadelphia have recently manifested for me, especially on account of my ill-treatment by an infuriated mob, a few weeks since. Among their names I was truly gratified to see that of Thomas Shipley, whose labors in the cause of bleeding humanity have been so indefatigable, so disinterested, and, in a multitude of cases, so abundantly successful. I am young in the service, you are old; and if, since our acquaintance happily commenced, we have not always seen precisely alike as to the best mode of advancing the sacred cause of liberty, yet our principles have run *pari passu*, and our hearts beat spontaneously together.

Lib. 5: 190.

See Memoir by Dr. Isaac Parish, 1837, or Still's Underground Railroad, p. 698, and Whittier's Memorial Stanzas, Lib. 6: 200.

It is cheering to see that the unsophisticated disciples of Christ, and the true friends of emancipation, are beginning to see and feel and act alike, as it respects both principles and measures. They would have coalesced much earlier, had the same horrible developments of Southern and Northern sentiments, which now affright them by their enormity, been made at an earlier period. Now that it is proclaimed from the high places of power, that "domestic slavery is the corner-stone of our republican edifice"; now that the punishment of death is denounced against those who shall plead for emancipation, whether immediate or ultimate; now that the "self-evident truths" of the Declaration of Independence are *religiously* declared to be mere "rhetorical flourishes"; now that churches, and presbyteries, and synods are impiously voting that slavery is divinely sanctioned, and may properly be perpetuated; now

By Gov. McDuffie, ante, p. 62.

Ante, 1: 477, 478.

for which he had previously been assaulted publicly (*Lib.* 5: 27). Mr. Garrison came to his support by reprinting the article in the *Liberator* (5: 32). For the subsequent stages in this *cause célèbre* see *Lib.* 5: 36, 56, 107, 112. An extract has already been made (*ante*, 1: 478) from Mr. Garrison's comments on Attorney-General Austin's argument at the June term. The article now in question (*Lib.* 5: 199) was concerned with the same lawyer's argument on the appeal, on Nov. 4, 1835. In the course of it the recent victim of an atrocious mob declared — "I believe that all those who 'name the name of Christ,' and profess to be his followers, and to be willing to follow him through good and through evil report, through flood and fire, as lambs in the midst of wolves, ought never to trust in an arm of flesh for protection, but should wholly 'cease from man' — ought never to prosecute, or imprison, or put to death, for any injury done to them by their enemies."

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that no man, however venerable in years, or high in station, or estimable in character, can openly plead the cause of more than two millions of stolen men, women and children, without losing his reputation and subjecting himself to every species of insult, injury and peril; now that lawful and benevolent meetings are systematically broken up, or suppressed by mobs headed by "respectable" and "honorable" men; now that guiltless citizens are seized ruthlessly, and with perfect impunity tarred and feathered, or beaten with stripes, or driven away by force, or *suspended upon gibbets*, and that a tempting price is put upon the heads of others; and finally, now that there is a loud clamor for the passage of laws that shall deprive us of the liberty of speech and the liberty of the press;—I say, now that this is the state of the controversy, and this the condition of our country, and this the direful alternative that is presented to us, hereafter all "good men and true," all who fear God and hate covetousness, and all who love their country and their kind, will rally under a common standard, adopt common measures, and cherish common principles. . . .

I join with you in high commendation of the speech of Gerrit Smith before the Convention at Peterboro'. It will be preserved and read when monuments are crumbling into dust. . . .

Most cordially, too, do I agree with you in your views respecting the duty of procuring an amendment to our national Constitution—of that part of it, which is wet with human blood, which requires us to send back into bondage those who escape from the lash and the chain. It makes us as a people, and as a State, the abettors of human degradation and soul-murder; and shall we not, if possible, by a constitutional process, blot out that bloody stain? The course of events during the present session of Congress will undoubtedly indicate what steps we may wisely take upon this subject. . . .

It is quite refreshing to see Friend Lundy and the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* again in the field together. They are bullet-proof. Thou murderer Lynch, avaunt! . . . *Lib.* 5:203.

Rev. Dr. Channing has just published a sort of Ishmaelitish work on slavery. He modestly asks us to give up our watchword "Immediate Emancipation," to disband our societies, and to keep our publications from the slaveholders! His book is an 18mo [full?] of contradictions, and contains some unmerited defamation of abolitionists, although he confesses he

CHAP. I. 1835. has never attended one of their meetings nor heard one of their addresses! However, there are many eloquent and powerful passages in it.

W. L. Garrison to S. J. May, at Boston.

MS. BROOKLYN, December 26, 1835.

As to-morrow is the Sabbath, I shall defer leaving for Boston until Monday, *via* Worcester. . . .

I am happy to learn that there is a disposition, on the part of the abolition brethren, to place the *Liberator*, if possible, in a better condition than it has been heretofore. Two or three things are certain. 1st. The debts of the *Liberator* ought to be liquidated. 2d. If they are not, it must of necessity be discontinued. 3d. The publishers are wholly unable to discharge the debts. Now it is for the friends of our cause to consider whether this is one of those cases in which it is a gospel duty to "bear one another's burdens." I presume if a frank statement, signed by a responsible committee, were drawn up and circulated among abolitionists in various parts of the country, the sum that is needed would readily be obtained. . . .

Whatever change is made, of course the feelings and desires of Mr. Knapp must be consulted as well as mine. Should he wish to contract for the printing of the paper, at the same rates as others print, he ought to have the preference.[1] I am inclined to think that our friends, wholly ignorant as they are, generally, respecting the losses and crosses of every newspaper concern, more or less, hardly do us justice as to our past management. I admit that we have not been methodical or sharp in keeping our accounts; but we suffer much more from the negligence of our subscribers than from our own. We have not squandered or misapplied, but, on the contrary, as a whole, been careful of our means. Recollect that we have passed through a struggle of five years. . . . Yet we are in arrears only about $2500. . . . How many religious and political papers have perished, (though supported by sectarian and political zeal), since we started the *Liberator!* . . .

I thank you for your hints respecting Dr. Channing. I mean to be only as severe as truth and justice require. His book, as a whole, I do not like: it is entirely destitute of magnanimity,

[1] The dissolution of the partnership of Garrison & Knapp, which was formally announced at the beginning of the new volume, is here regarded as a foregone conclusion.

and it requires of us about as much, in fact, as do our Southern opponents. Probably I shall not commence my review until the second edition appears. CHAP. I. 1835.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife, at Brooklyn.

ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, BOSTON, *MS.*
Monday evening, December 28, 1835.

Without accident or detention, I have safely arrived in Boston, having been only eight hours on the journey. . . . Dear brother Henry was at the depot, and clapped his hand upon my shoulder as soon as I put my foot upon the soil, giving me quite a brotherly welcome. We then rode to Miss Parker's[1] (where I am to remain), and were just in season to take tea. It was quite refreshing to see familiar faces once more. Mr. and Mrs. May sat at my right hand, propounding many questions about the Brooklynites, to which I responded as rapidly as possible. As soon as I had finished my supper, I came down to the office, and having first chatted a little with brother Henry and friend Knapp, then read the last *Liberator*, I have now seized my pen to write to one who is dearer to me than any other earthly object. . . .

H. E. Benson. *President Boston Fem. A. S. Soc.* *Dec. 26, 1835.*

Brother Phelps has been mobbed in Farmington. A large brickbat was thrown through the window, almost with the velocity of a cannon-ball, and narrowly missed his head. Had it struck him, undoubtedly he would have been killed on the spot. He went on with his lecture, however, and told the people he would not cease to plead the cause of enslaved humanity in that place, until either mob law was put down, or he should fall a victim. The next evening his meeting was slightly disturbed, but the third evening he carried his point triumphantly. About twenty of the rioters have been arrested —all "men of cloth." *Conn.*

Rev. Mr. Grosvenor has been mobbed in Worcester County. *Mass.*

Charles Stuart has been mobbed in the western part of the State of New York. A brickbat struck him on the head, which made him senseless for a time; but as soon as he recovered, he began to plead for the suffering and dumb, until he was persuaded by a clergyman to desist.

Rev. George Storrs has been mobbed (according to law) in New Hampshire. In the midst of his prayer, he was arrested, and violently shaken, and carried before a justice of the peace as a *Lib.* 6:11.

[1] In Hayward Place. The Mays boarded with her.

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vagrant, idler, and disturber of the peace!! by gentlemen, too!! But they could find nothing against him legally, and so he was dismissed.

These shameful transactions will doubtless be multiplied, but our safety and strength lie in an omnipotent arm. "The Lord reigneth,"—we have no other, and desire no better consolation.

A sharp Review of Dr. Channing's book has just appeared,[1] said to be from the pen of James T. Austin, the famous Attorney-General in the case of Mr. Cheever. Of course I have not had time to read it.

Ante, pp. 63, 64.

The anti-slavery debate in Congress[2] continued five days! Mr. Slade, of Vermont,[3] spoke nobly. They did not dare to reject the petitions, but laid them on the table. The Southerners were very fierce.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife, at Brooklyn.

MS.

BOSTON, December 30, 1835.

To-day has been the day for the Ladies' Fair[4] — but not so bright and fair out of doors as within doors. The Fair was held at the house of Mr. Chapman's father, in Chauncey Place, in two large rooms. Perhaps there were not quite so many things prepared as last year, but the assortment was nevertheless various. There were several tables, as usual, which were under the superintendence of the Misses Weston, the Misses Ammidon, Miss Paul, Miss Chapman, Mrs. Sargent (who, by the way, spoke in the kindest manner of you), and one or two other persons, whom I did not know. I bought a few things, and had one or two presents for Mrs. Garrison. The Fair will be continued to-morrow, but I do not think the proceeds will equal the sales of last year. Everything has been conducted in a pleasing manner. Friend Whittier's and Thompson's portraits[5]

Henry Chapman, Senior.

[1] 'Remarks on Dr. Channing's Slavery.' Two editions were sold within a fortnight (*Lib.* 6:3). It was reviewed in turn by Mr. Garrison in *Lib.* 6:11.

[2] Over the reception of petitions for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, beginning Dec. 18, 1835 (*Lib.* 5:206; 6:1, 2, 8, 19, 20, 24, 26, 28, 32).

[3] William Slade, Representative from Vermont 1831–43. In 1844 he was made Governor of that State.

[4] This was the second year of the anti-slavery bazaar, which became so important an auxiliary in providing the means for agitation.

[5] Mr. Thompson's portrait was painted by S. S. Osgood, by order of Mrs. M. W. Chapman. It was sold to Mr. John S. Kimball, who afterwards had it lithographed. It is now in the possession of Mr. Garrison's family. The likeness was not thought very satisfactory (*Lib.* 9:55).

were hung up to observation—mine[1] has gone on to Philadelphia to be engraved.

Henry, Knapp, and myself sleep (all in a row) in the office, in good style and fine fellowship—one of us upon a sofa-bedstead, and two upon settees, which are not quite so soft, to be sure, as ours at Brooklyn. I have had invitations to stay with friends Fuller, Southwick, and Shattuck, and at Miss Parker's, but prefer to be independent. *H. E. Benson.*

The arrangements for the *Liberator* are not yet definitely made, but I think all past affairs will soon be settled.

Our friend Sewall's "intended," Miss Winslow, is now in the city, and was at the Fair to-day, with two sparkling eyes and a pleasant countenance. How soon the marriage knot is to be tied, I cannot find out. Don't you think they are unwise not to hasten matters? . . . *S. E. Sewall.*

This evening I took tea at Mr. Loring's. He has been somewhat ill, but is now better, though still feeble. His amiable wife was at the Fair, selling and buying, and giving away, with her characteristic assiduity and liberality. Both of them were very kind in their inquiries after my wife. *Ellis Gray Loring.*

This forenoon bro. May and myself, by express invitation, visited Miss Martineau at Mr. Gannett's house. The interview was very agreeable and satisfactory to me. She is a fine woman. *S. J. May.* *Rev. E. S. Gannett.*

Miss Martineau's account of this interview is more circumstantial. In her 'Retrospect of Western Travel,' after saying that, "having heard every species of abuse of Garrison," she ought in fairness to see him, she continues: 2: 218.

"I was staying at the house of a clergyman[2] in Boston, when a note was brought in which told me that Mr. Garrison was in town, and would meet me at any hour, at any friend's house, the next day. My host arrived at a knowledge of the contents of the note quite against my will, and kindly insisted that Mr. Garrison should call on me at home. At ten o'clock he came, accompanied by his introducer. His aspect put to flight in an instant what prejudices his slanderers had raised in me. I was wholly taken by surprise. It was a countenance glowing with *Rev. S. J. May.*

[1] By M. C. Torrey (*Lib.* 5:190), engraved in mezzotint by John Sartain. The frontispiece to Volume I. of the present work is from the original.

[2] The Rev. Ezra Stiles Gannett, colleague of Dr. Channing.

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health, and wholly expressive of purity, animation, and gentleness. I did not now wonder at the citizen who, seeing a print of Garrison at a shop window without a name to it, went in and bought it, and framed it as the most saintlike of countenances. The end of the story is, that when the citizen found whose portrait he had been hanging up in his parlor, he took the print out of the frame and huddled it away.

"Garrison has a good deal of a Quaker air; and his speech is deliberate like a Quaker's, but gentle as a woman's. The only thing that I did not like was his excessive agitation when he came in, and his thanks to me for desiring to meet one 'so odious' as himself. I was, however, as I told him, nearly as odious as himself at that time; so it was fit that we should be acquainted. On mentioning afterward to his introducer my impression of something like a want of manliness in Garrison's agitation, he replied that I could not know what it was to be an object of insult and hatred to the whole of society for a series of years; that Garrison could bear what he met with from street to street, and from town to town; but that a kind look and shake of the hand from a stranger unmanned him for the moment. How little did the great man know our feelings towards him on our meeting; how we, who had done next to nothing, were looking up to him who is achieving the work of an age, and, as a stimulus, that of a nation![1]

"His conversation was more about peace principles than the great subject. It was of the most practical cast. Every conversation I had with him confirmed my opinion that sagacity is the most striking attribute of his conversation. It has none of the severity, the harshness, the bad taste of his writing; it is as gladsome as his countenance, and as gentle as his voice. Through the whole of his deportment breathes the evidence of a heart at ease; and this it is, I think, more than all his distinct claims, which attaches his personal friends to him with an almost idolatrous affection."

Miss Martineau's narrative has already slipt away from the first meeting and first impressions, but it is as well to dispose here of what follows, or most of it:

Retrospect of Western Travel, 2: 210.

"I do not pretend to like or to approve the tone of Garrison's printed censures. I could not use such language myself towards

[1] Miss Martineau did not make allowance for Mr. Garrison's respect for so eminent a writer, and his own modesty and unconsciousness. Add the embarrassment of communicating with her through an ear-trumpet.

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any class of offenders, nor can I sympathize in its use by others. But it is only fair to mention that Garrison adopts it warily; and that I am persuaded that he is elevated above passion, and has no unrighteous anger to vent in harsh expressions. He considers his task to be the exposure of fallacy, the denunciation of hypocrisy, and the rebuke of selfish timidity. He is looked upon by those who defend him in this particular as holding the branding-iron; and it seems true enough that no one branded by Garrison ever recovers it. He gives his reasons for his severity with a calmness, meekness, and softness which contrast strongly with the subject of the discourse, and which convince the objector that there is principle at the bottom of the practice. . . .

"He never speaks of himself or his persecutions unless compelled, and his child will never learn at home what a distinguished father he has. He will know him as the tenderest of parents before he becomes aware that he is a great hero. I found myself growing into a forgetfulness of the deliverer of a race in the friend of the fireside. One day, in Michigan, two friends (who happened to be abolitionists) and I were taking a drive with the Governor of the State, who was talking of some recent commotion on the slavery question. 'What is Garrison like?' said he. 'Ask Miss M.,' said one smiling friend: 'Ask Miss M.,' said the other. I was asked accordingly; and my answer was, that I thought Garrison the most bewitching personage I had met in the United States. The impression cannot but be strengthened by his being made such a bugbear as he is; but the testimony of his personal friends, the closest watchers of his life, may safely be appealed to as to the charms of his domestic manners.

"Garrison gayly promised me that he would come over whenever his work is done in the United States, that we may keep jubilee in London. I believe it would be safe to promise him a hundred thousand welcomes as warm as mine."

Dec. 10, 1834.

This engagement was punctually fulfilled on both sides. Meantime, nothing could have seemed more utopian. A full year before,—when as yet there was no Southern panic over incendiary matter in the mails, no Charleston bonfire, no "well done!" from the Postmaster-General, no slave-drivers' demand on the North, no truckling Faneuil Hall meeting, no State-Street mob,—Mr. Gar-

Ante 1:484. rison, still fancying himself a year older than he really was, had composed this birthday sonnet:

Lib. 5:39.

Ye angels, and the spirits of the just!
  Crown'd as ye are, and thron'd in royal state!
  In full seraphic strains congratulate,
Upon his waning years, a child of dust,
Who, as he fades, doth firmer find his trust
  In GOD — and holds the world at a mean rate,
  But upon heaven puts a high estimate!
This fills his soul with joy — *that*, with disgust.
The thirtieth round of my brief pilgrimage
  To-day is ended — 'tis perchance the last
I shall complete upon this earthly stage;
  For toils increase, and perils thicken fast,
And mighty is the warfare that I wage: —
  Yet 'tis my foes, not I, that stand aghast!

CHAPTER II.

GERMS OF CONTENTION AMONG BRETHREN.—1836.

"IT is fortunate for the country that the good sense, the generous feeling, and the deep-rooted attachment of the people of the non-slaveholding States to the Union, and to their fellow-citizens of the same blood in the South, have given so strong and impressive a tone to the sentiments entertained against the proceedings of the misguided persons who have engaged in these unconstitutional and wicked attempts ["to circulate through the mails inflammatory appeals addressed to the passions of the slaves, in prints"], and especially against the emissaries from foreign parts who have dared to interfere in this matter, as to authorize the hope that those attempts will no longer be persisted in. . . . I would . . . respectfully suggest the propriety of passing such a law as will prohibit, under severe penalties, the circulation in the Southern States, through the mail, of incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection."

Lib. 5:199 *Benton's Thirty Years' View* 1:575.

In these terms President Jackson, in his message to Congress, December 7, 1835, introduced, for the first time in such documents, an allusion to abolitionism. His allegations were cruelly false; his implicit approval of the mob violence of the past summer and autumn, as infamous in a chief magistrate as it was short-sighted in a statesman; and his proposition to close the mails against anti-slavery publications, audaciously unconstitutional and despotic.[1] Nevertheless, they gave the keynote to the policy of repression which, during the next year, was sought to be enforced by continued popular outrages, by State legislative and Federal Congressional

[1] See the telling protest of the American A. S. Society, *Lib.* 6:6.

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enactments. Above all, they fixed the *political* character of the agitation against which they were directed.

Lib. 6:26, 34.

The Southern delegates in Congress could not agree as to modes of repression; they even had still some respect for Constitutional principles. Calhoun would not trust Congress with the power to determine what was incendiary, and what tended to excite insurrection: the abolitionists would in time form a great political party, and might thus become the judges of their own incendiarism. Moreover, he admitted that "to prohibit circulation is in effect to prohibit publication," and hence an abridgment of the liberty of the press. He therefore insisted on the "historically reserved" rights of the State[1] to preserve internal peace, and reported a bill making it penal for postmasters knowingly to receive any letter, paper, or pictorial representation addressed to a State where it was prohibited. But the Senate threw it out by a majority of six, with Benton, Clay, and Crittenden among them. Meantime the debate had been raging over the treatment of petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District. The honester Southern members acknowledged the power of Congress in the premises; others, following the lead of Calhoun, denied it, and were for summarily rejecting the petitions — in other words, suppressing the right of petition *on that subject*. The South Carolinian was again defeated, by a majority of twenty-five, but the Senate readily adopted the practice of rejecting the petitions in question without reference to a committee. In the House, Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, incurred the bitter wrath of his colleagues and of his section[2] by origin-

Annual Report Mass. A. S. Soc., 1837, *p.* 25.

Lib. 6:103, 104; *Benton's Thirty Years' View, Vol.* 1, *Chap.* 131.

Benton, Vol. 1, *Chaps.* 130, 135.

Annual Report Mass. A. S. Soc., 1837, *p.* 18;

[1] Benton considered Calhoun's argument on this point "the corner-stone of the doctrine of nullification, and its corollary, that the laws of nations were in full force between the several States, as sovereign and independent communities except as modified by the 'compact'" ('Thirty Years' View,' 1:581).

[2] He was actually "presented" by the Grand Jury of Dallas Co., Ala., for his "treachery" (*Lib.* 6:93), after the example of the presentment of President Jackson by the Grand Jury of Davidson Co., N. C., in 1834 (*Niles' Register*, 46:155). His own district threw him out, and refused to return him to Congress (*Lib.* 7:211).

ating and reporting resolutions not more peremptory than that Congress had no authority to interfere in any way with slavery in the States;[1] that (though it might have the power) it *ought* not to interfere with it in the District; and that all resolutions to that end should be (not *rejected*, but) laid on the table without printing. Still, in the large majority who joined him in placing this ineffectual gag upon Northern freemen, the South had many representatives. *Lib.* 6:26, 86, 89, 92, 97; 7:13.

Northern governors and legislatures differed with the South as to the lawfulness of the measures of repression demanded of them, and among themselves as to their willingness to try what they could do. Governor Marcy, of New York, refused his assent to the constitutional gloss by which Governor Gayle, of Alabama, made requisition for Ransom G. Williams, publishing agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society at New York, under an act of Congress concerning "fugitives from justice." Williams had been indicted as "late of said [Tuscaloosa] County"; and Governor Gayle, while not pretending that he had been in the State "when his crime was committed," or had "*fled* therefrom," nevertheless held that he had "evaded the justice of our laws," and hence was a fugitive to be delivered up. Governor Marcy, however, mingled with his admirable exposure of this attempt on the "sovereignty" of New York some hearty abuse of the abolitionists. Shortly afterwards, in transmitting the requisition and his response to the New York Legislature, with resolutions adopted by the Legislature of South Carolina, asking for penal enactments against the abolitionists, he expressed his belief that these might properly be framed, to prevent "the citizens of this State and residents within it from availing themselves with impunity of the protection of its sovereignty and laws, while they are actually employed in exciting insurrection *Lib.* 6:13. *Lib.* 6:13. *Lib.* 6:33.

[1] It was in refutation of this dogma that John Quincy Adams made that splendid extemporaneous speech in which he asserted the absolute control of Congress over slavery under the "war power" (*Lib.* 6:97), and furnished the weapon for emancipation under Lincoln.

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and sedition in a sister State, or engaged in treasonable enterprises, intended to be executed therein."

Governor Everett, of Massachusetts, was even more obsequious, proclaiming his belief that "whatever by direct and necessary operation is calculated to excite insurrection among the slaves may be prosecuted as a misdemeanor at common law." No Northern governor was left unsupplied with resolutions from the Carolinas,[1] from Alabama, from Georgia, from Virginia. But the result was not encouraging. Mr. Garrison, writing from Newport, June 22, 1836, of the abandonment of the attempt to pass in the Rhode Island Legislature resolutions advising punishment of the abolition "conspirators," reviewed the situation at that date:

Mass. Senate Doc. No. 56, 1836.

Lib. 6:73.

Lib. 6:107.

"A gentleman from Dover informs me, that the committee appointed by the New Hampshire Legislature to consider and report upon the pro-slavery documents from the South, have not been able to agree, and the whole subject has been postponed to the next session, which is tantamount to an indefinite postponement.[2] The legislatures of Maine and New York have adopted some weak resolutions, censuring the abolitionists; Massachusetts and Connecticut have refused to act upon the Southern documents; Vermont is yet to act, and no doubt her Legislature will imitate that of Pennsylvania,[3] viz., by vindicating the right of free discussion, and maintaining the duty of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. The Legislature of this State [Rhode Island] resolves to do nothing upon the subject. What will the South say now?"

Lib. 6:112, 203.

South Carolina said, speaking through Governor McDuffie's message, that but three of the States in which abolition societies had been formed had even conde-

Lib. 6:201.

[1] Those from South Carolina were made more impressive by an "inspired" article, styled "The Crisis," which appeared simultaneously in the Charleston *Mercury*. Anticipating "the adjournment of the legislatures of the Northern States without adopting any measures effectually to put down Garrison, Tappan and their associates," the article appointed a convention of the slaveholding States to assume towards the North "the relation of open enemies" (Benton's 'Thirty Years' View,' 1:610).

[2] The subservient element prevailed at the next session (*Lib.* 7:14, 25), but legislation against the abolitionists was discountenanced.

[3] It did, Nov. 16, 1836 (*Lib.* 6:193).

scended to notice her appeal, while not one had "taken any step towards suppressing the injurious practices of which we so justly complained." She regarded this "entire neglect" as a "silent but significant indication of the alarming state of public opinion" in the non-slaveholding States, and thought it now time for discussion and entreaty to cease. Virginia, too, was disheartened, having got response only from Maine, New York, and Ohio, and satisfaction from no quarter; but was disposed to make a last appeal. *Lib.* 6:205.

Repression by popular violence — "the reign of terror" — continued unabated, in spite of its notorious effect in multiplying anti-slavery organizations upon the very heels of the mob. Typical cases were the town-meeting appointment of a vigilance committee to prevent anti-slavery meetings in Canaan, N. H.; the arrest of the Rev. George Storrs, at Northfield, in the same State, in a friendly pulpit, at the close of a discourse on slavery, as a "common brawler," and his subsequent sentence by a "justice of the peace" to hard labor in the House of Correction for three months (not sustained on appeal); and the repeated destruction of Birney's *Philanthropist* printing-office by the "gentlemen of property and standing" in Cincinnati — an outrage bearing a close resemblance to that engendered by the Faneuil Hall meeting, and ending in a midnight raid upon the colored homes of the city, with the connivance of the mayor. As in the case of Boston there was no "mob." According to the distinction so well formulated by Judge Lawless, of Missouri, when a colored man had been burnt at the stake, it was "not the act of numerable and ascertainable malefactors, but of congregated thousands," seized by a "mysterious, metaphysical and almost electric phrenzy," and therefore not indictable. Well did Emerson write to Carlyle, October 7, 1835: "We have had in different parts of the country mobs and moblike legislation, and even moblike judicature, which have betrayed an almost godless state of society."

Lib. 7:13.

Lib. 6:19, 63, 155.

Lib. 6:22, 25, 123, 139, 158; *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, Chap.* 15.

Lib. 6:102.

Emerson's Correspondence, 1:84.

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The churches were deeply engrossed in putting down anti-slavery sentiment within and without — the Southern religious bodies with a common voice holding up the abolitionists to public reprobation. A reputed vicegerent of the Almighty, Alexander Campbell, founder of the "Christian" sect, proclaimed the divine right of slavery and the impiety of interference with it. The Northern churches were divided, but the weight of expression was on the side of the slave-driver. The Methodist General Conference at Cincinnati met some mild reprobation of slavery transmitted by the English Wesleyan Conference with unqualified repudiation of "modern abolitionists," and particular censure of two of its own delegates who had lectured on the "agitating topic" of slavery; and earned from the editor of the *Liberator* the characterization of "a cage of unclean birds, and synagogue of Satan." The Presbyterian General Assembly at Pittsburgh found it inexpedient to express any opinion upon slavery, regarding it as a purely political institution; yet, for failing to call it divine, nearly lost its Southern members. The Maine Universalists held the same views of expediency. Even the Orthodox Friends of New York, in yearly meeting, while favorable to emancipation, kept aloof from the abolitionists, "endeavoring to concentrate within the Society that moral influence which it possesses." On the other hand, in small localities, the beginning of non-communion with slaveholders and non-fellowship with slaveholding religious associations was made.

Lib. 6:5, 93, 194.

Lib. 6:69.

Lib. 6:83, 86, 93, 131.

Lib. 6:119, 131.

Lib. 6:99.

Lib. 6:163.

Lib. 6:173.

Lib. 6:173.

The theological schools and reviews maintained their evil traditions. The Princeton *Biblical Repertory* found a clear sanction for slaveholding in the Scriptures, and admissions in the New Testament of its consistency with the Christian character and profession. Leading Northern publishers apprised the South of their resolve to reprint no English work involving a condemnation of slavery, and not to make their publications "a medium of 'incendiary circulation.'" One in Baltimore expur-

Lib. 6:69.

Lib. 6:71.

gated an English history of the United States that had been found objectionable on this score in South Carolina. To make assurance doubly sure, General Duff Green obtained of the Legislature of that State a charter for a Southern Literary Company, to prepare school-books suitable for a slaveholding community. *Lib.* 6: 156. *Lib.* 6: 173, 206.

The main business of the abolitionists, besides extending their organization,— which they did at the rate of nearly one new society a day, including a vigorous State Society in Rhode Island, and one in Pennsylvania,— was to defeat the legislative movements directed against the right of free speech; to keep up the bombardment of Congress with petitions for emancipation in the District; to vindicate in the courts the right of slaves brought North to their liberty, and of fugitives to the ordinary safeguards of freemen on trial; and to oppose, on the one hand the admission of Arkansas as a slave State into the Union, on the other, the inevitable bent of the Government towards aiding Texas in her pro-slavery revolt against Mexico, with a view to ultimate annexation. A counter-stroke in Massachusetts to the "Southern documents" was the petition to the Legislature to remonstrate against the treatment of the State's colored seamen and other citizens in Southern ports and cities, not forgetting the still outstanding reward offered by Georgia for the apprehension of the editor of the *Liberator*. Judicial decisions like those in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, claiming rather than asserting for alleged fugitives the right of trial by jury; and like Judge Shaw's in the famous Med case in Boston (won by the exertions of Messrs. Sewall and Loring), which, for the first time in the history of this country, applied the common law of England to slaves taken to a free State voluntarily by their masters, and declared them free,— made a profound impression at the South. It was high time, for not a month passed without some atrocious case of kidnapping. *Lib.* 6: 179. *Lib.* 6: 183. *Lib.* 6: 22, 179. *Lib.* 6: 55, 68. *Lib.* 6: 62, 124. *Lib.* 6: 168, 169; *Right and Wrong in Boston*, 1836, [2] p. 64. *Lib.* 6: 127, 151, *etc.*

The progress of the Texan revolt had culminated in the defeat of the Mexican forces by Houston, and the *Lib.* 6: 82.

capture of Santa Anna; and the agents of the province were despatched to the United States to hasten the recruiting of volunteers for the final struggle, and promote demonstrations of public sentiment and State action in favor of recognizing the independence of Texas. Meantime, the Federal Senate admitted Arkansas with a constitution making slavery perpetual, while the House applied the gag-law for District petitions to remonstrances against confirming the action of the Senate, and then completed the iniquity. The champions of freedom in the struggle of 1820 were now either dumb or impotent: the Missouri Compromise had extinguished their sensitiveness to the extension of the area of servitude.[1]

Lib. 6:69.

Lib. 6:86, 204.

Lib. 6:62.

Annual Report Mass. A. S. Soc., 1837, *p.* 39.

But the North was, if helpless, not indifferent. She viewed with alarm the threatened increase of the Slave Power, and its new aggressiveness beyond its own bounds. She felt herself on the defensive; and indeed, from this time the abolitionists no longer had to arouse the public conscience merely or mainly to the sin and shame and danger of the *status quo*, but could point to the portentous development of pro-slavery lust for power, and to act after act of aggrandizement for which no warning

[1] Webster dodged the vote in the Senate. His predecessor, Harrison Gray Otis, was no longer heard from. In 1820 the latter had said in the same body that he should "strenuously and forever oppose the extension of slavery, and all measures which should subject a freeman, of whatever color, to the degradation of a slave; . . . which should divest him of his property and rights, and interdict him from even passing into a country of which he was a legitimate co-proprietor with himself" (*Columbian Centinel*, Jan. 24, 1821). Mayor Lyman had also opposed the Missouri Compromise in a 4th of July oration in 1820, and in 1821 had, as a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, reported against a proposed law to check the immigration of pauper blacks. He, too, was now satisfied with the "Compact," as was John Quincy Adams, so far as concerned the bare admission of Arkansas as a slave State (Benton's 'Thirty Years' View,' 1:636). Benton compliments the Northern members of Congress on their magnanimity in voting to ratify the treaty for the removal of the Cherokees (to make way for slavery), to enlarge the area of Missouri, by altering the compromise line so as to "convert free soil into slave soil," and to admit Arkansas with its slavery-perpetuating constitution — all in the session of 1835–36, amidst and in spite of "offensive criminations" on the part of the South for the failure to suppress the abolitionists (*Ibid.*, 1: 626, 627).

could be too shrill, no language too harsh. In other words, the South itself became their ally in the conversion of the North.[1] Calhoun, personifying the remorseless logic of slavery; Houston, exemplifying its reckless filibustering spirit, combined to draw after them the more moderate elements. Benton, "from the beginning of the Missouri controversy up to the year 1835, . . . looked to the North as the point of danger from the slavery agitation"; after that date, to the South. *Thirty Years' View*, 1:623.

Northern politicians first began to feel themselves between two fires, being called upon to satisfy the antagonistic sentiments of the constituencies they represented and the powerful section they wished to propitiate. John Quincy Adams, speaking to the Pinckney resolutions, admonished the other side: "In a large portion of this country every individual member who votes with you will be left at home at the next election, and some one will be sent who is not prepared to lay these petitions on the table." *Ibid.*, 1:623. Senator Preston, of South Carolina, in the debate on the same petitions, March 1, 1836, affirmed that in future canvasses and elections the abolitionists would be courted by the two political parties at the North; and his words were speedily verified at the approaching Presidential election. *Lib.* 6:48. The *Liberator* warned abolitionists against voting for Van Buren, White, or Harrison; opposed the reëlection of Governor Everett, and the election to Congress of Richard Fletcher. *Lib.* 6:163, 167, 175, 181, 182, 183. The Presidential candidates and aspirants were themselves brought to book. General Harrison was decried at the South for believing in the constitutionality of emancipation in the District. Judge White denied the power of Congress, or the expediency of exercising it, in the premises, and pledged himself to *Lib.* 6:65.

[1] Charles Sumner writes to Dr. Lieber, Jan. 9, 1836: "We are becoming abolitionists at the North fast; the riots, the attempts to abridge the freedom of discussion, Governor McDuffie's message, and the conduct of the South generally have caused many to think favorably of immediate emancipation who never before inclined to it" ('Memoir,' 1:173).

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act accordingly if elected. Van Buren, with characteristic two-facedness, admitted the power, but said the objections to its exercise, against the will of the South, were so "imperative in their nature and obligations" as to amount to a want of constitutional power; and gave the same pledge as his rival. He went further on this side, anticipating the repression of agitation, and that "for some time, at least, we shall have no more foreign agents to enlighten us on the subject," as the foreign public will take heed of "recent results here."[1]

Lib. 6:65.

This optimistic view was not shared by his Southern auditors. They knew, in fact, as Senator Preston declared, that "in England and in France the developments of popular sentiment are all against us.[2] The denunciations heard there reverberate throughout our own country." The *Liberator*, indeed, for 1836 is one long reverberation of Thompson's triumphant tour through England and Scotland, rehearsing in assembly rooms and chapels his American experience, setting forth the aims and character of the abolitionists and the relations of parties in the United States, exposing the Texas conspiracy, and fanning to a fresh heat a zeal which already he was preparing to turn against the apprenticeship system in

Lib. 6:48.

Annual Report Mass. A. S. Soc., 1837, *p.* 51.

Lib. 6:86.

[1] It was of this manifesto that Mr. Garrison wrote to G. W. Benson, April 10, 1836 (MS.): "Political abolitionists are now placed in an awkward predicament. What an outrageous letter Martin Van Buren has written to certain political rascals in North Carolina, respecting slavery in the District of Columbia! No consistent abolitionist can now vote for him. It seems that our alternative must now be between Webster or Harrison. I should prefer the former. Van Buren, you will observe, covers the Society of Friends with the slime of his panegyric, and draws a broad line of distinction between them and the abolitionists. Why? Simply because the Friends in North Carolina are numerous, and their votes are wanted to turn the scales in favor of the 'Magician.'"

[2] The French Society for the Abolition of Slavery, through its secretary, Count Alexandre de Laborde, apprised Mr. Garrison, by letter of July 23, 1836, of his having been elected a corresponding member. A similar honor had been bestowed by Scotland. "A powerful union," he says (*Lib.* 6:159), "is now formed between the abolitionists of England, France and America, for the extirpation of slavery and the slave trade from the face of the whole earth."

the British West Indies.[1] Under his inspiration, new anti-slavery societies were formed and funds raised, and nearly every dissenting body in the United Kingdom adopted resolutions and addresses on the subject of slavery. Northern pro-slavery religious papers, like the New York *Observer*, remarked on the consequent attitude of non-intercourse assumed by the anti-slavery religious associations in England toward those in America. In the *Southern Religious Telegraph*, a Southerner abroad testified to the lively abhorrence manifested by the Dissenters among whom Mr. Thompson had labored, "not only of the *system* of slavery, but also of the principles which are advocated by the greater part of Southern Christians"—an abhorrence naturally extended (to their discomfort) to the advocates themselves on their travels. By way of increasing this impediment to Christian intercourse, Mr. Thompson also squared his cis-Atlantic account with Drs. Cox and Hoby, and held a prolonged debate with the American colonizationist, Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge.

Lib. 7:3, 9, 10.

Lib. 6:177.

Lib. 6:204.

Lib. 6:133, 137, 142.

Lib. 6:135, 157, 190; *ante*, 1:449.

During this momentous year Mr. Garrison was less conspicuous than in any since the founding of the *Liberator*. The first nine months were spent in Brooklyn, Conn.; for, on the eve of his wife's confinement (in February), it would have been impracticable to begin housekeeping afresh in Boston, and after that event many reasons combined to prolong his absence from the hot and crowded city, with its manifold interruptions of editorial work. The severe regimen, the irregular habit, and the excitement of the period before and immediately after his marriage had begun to tell upon his system. He suffered much from a scrofulous affection manifesting itself in various parts of the body, and from a wound in the leg incurred by jumping from the garden wall. The

[1] *Liberator, passim*; and 'A Voice to the United States of America from the Metropolis of Scotland; being an account of various meetings held in Edinburgh on the subject of American slavery, upon the return of Mr. George Thompson from his mission to that country' (Edinburgh, 1836).

customary debate at the close of each volume of the *Liberator* had ended in 1835 in Garrison and Knapp dissolving their partnership, and the latter (to his ultimate sorrow) assuming all pecuniary liabilities and becoming sole publisher of the paper. The editor's salary was otherwise provided for. During his stay in Brooklyn, Charles Burleigh, more than any one, acted as his *locum tenens;* and as Mr. Garrison's relaxed and ailing bodily condition kept him from contributing regularly to the paper, the place was no sinecure. His associates in the Anti-Slavery Office and in the Board of Managers deplored his absence and pressed him to return. He admitted the inconvenience of it, and its injurious effect upon the interests of the *Liberator;* but it was not until the end of September that he again became a Bostonian, and ceased to be a self-banished man.[1] Still, though out of health and at a distance, he continued to direct and advise:

Lib. 6:3. 191, 199.

Mr. Garrison to Henry Benson, at Boston.

MS. BROOKLYN, January 16, 1836.

I have almost grown tired in waiting for a copy of Channing's second edition. If it should not come next week, I must "fire off" my gun.

The subscription of Mr. Chapman's father, towards liquidating our debt, is as generous as it is unexpected, and manifests a thorough-going anti-slavery spirit. I am thankful to hear that the Committee are actively endeavoring to get the whole sum made up as fast as possible, because everything in such a case depends upon despatch. Whoever else may be called upon to aid, I hope friend Dole, of Hallowell, will not be appealed to again, as he has already on various occasions contributed more liberally to the support of the paper than any other person in like circumstances. I think each one who is requested to give anything should be impressed with the fact, that he is not paying for "a dead horse" — for it is not only participating in the credit that may attach to the *Liberator*, for what it has done in waking up

E. Dole.

[1] The family, for it now consisted of three, took rooms at Miss Mary S. Parker's, No. 5 Hayward Place.

a lethargic public sentiment, but it is continuing the life and usefulness of the paper. As soon as the sum is completed, I [will] write a letter of thanks to each of the subscribers, in behalf of friend Knapp and myself. . . .

If we can get along without E. M. P. Wells's subscription, I shall be glad; because I wish no man to pay money for the support of the *Liberator*, if such an act goes against his conscience. It is true he justly owes the money — but he says he now dislikes the paper. . . .

Isaac Knapp.

Let me know whether friend K. has got into his new office. Tell him to make *everything else give way* (communications, editorials, and all) to the debates in Congress upon the petitions for the abolition of slavery in the D. of C. The sooner we publish the debates, the greater will be the interest in their perusal. Let him select the best reports he can find. It is important, too, that we should publish all *official* documents, in opposition to our cause, instanter, that we may not be anticipated by other papers. In the next *Liberator (i. e.*, Jan. 23), if possible, insert the accompanying extract from Gov. Marcy's message, and also the correspondence between him and Gov. Gayle, of Alabama, respecting Williams — especially the latter.

District of Columbia.

Lib. 6:17, 13.

Give as good an account of the annual meeting to the readers as the time will permit.

Mass. A. S. Society.

Probably E. M. P. Wells would prefer *not* to be one of the officers of our Society.

Let the Vice-Presidents be as influential as possible, without relying too much upon *names*. We can select them from all parts of the Commonwealth. The Managers should be the truest of the true. I should be glad to see our brother Wright one of the number.

Rev. H. C. Wright.

W. L. Garrison to Samuel J. May, at Boston.

BROOKLYN, January 17, 1836.

Accompanying this I send a letter, which, if you think proper, you may read to the meeting on Wednesday next, and then hand it over to friend Knapp for publication in the *Liberator*.[1]

Jan. 20, 1836. *Lib.* 6:15.

Boston is yet a stronghold of slavery. By Henry's letter received yesterday, it seems you have applied in vain for the use of a meeting-house or hall in which to hold the annual meeting. Sixteen refusals successively! And yet the people of

H. E. Benson.

[1] The Scriptural tone of this letter is remarkable.

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Boston are strongly opposed to slavery! Pardon my hard language — "they are liars, and the truth is not in them." They stand ready, at any moment, to crush the slaves and to co-operate with the masters. While such a city behaves so wickedly, I do think we ought to be more tender of the South — or, rather, we ought to be more impartial in our denunciations. Spare not your hypocritical and callous-hearted city, but at your meeting hold it up in all the infamy which attaches to its professions and conduct. Woe unto thee, Boston! for if the mighty works which have been done in thee, had been done in Charleston or Savannah, peradventure they had repented long ago.

I hope bold and emphatic resolutions will be adopted, respecting the murderous proposition of the Nero McDuffie in his message, and the equally despotic suggestions of the Domitian Marcy; for every proper occasion should be seized upon to bear testimony against such dangerous documents.

Ante, p. 62.
Ante, p. 75.

Strong resolutions should also be passed against the continuance of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and especially in reprehension of the inhuman policy and base servility of our Northern representatives in Congress, upon this subject.

Our brother Thompson will be greatly strengthened and gratified, if a resolution should be passed in kind remembrance of him and those who sustained his mission.— I think our bro. Stuart ought also to be remembered, inasmuch as he is laboring "with all his might,"[1] most nobly, successfully, and disinterestedly, in our sacred cause. . . .

The Annual Report, I am confident, will confer credit upon your head and heart. You know something of my anxiety respecting its remarks upon Dr. Channing's work: let there be an impartial mixture of praise and reproof. I think our anti-slavery brethren, generally, ought to be warned to give no heed to the Dr.'s advice to us,— to abandon our societies, to give up our watchword Immediate Emancipation,— to the charge of fanaticism, etc., etc. The imputation upon us ought to be repelled, that, in spite of all our toils, perils, sacrifices, ay, and *successes*, "nothing seems to have been gained"! but "perhaps something has been *lost* to the cause of freedom and humanity"! *Et tu Brute?* Our enemies have never stabbed more deeply than this. . . .

[1] And being mobbed for it — *e. g.*, at Winfield, N. Y. (*Lib.* 6 : 11).

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Would it not be well to remember Miss Martineau honorably in a resolution — applaud her moral courage, and rebuke her foul calumniators? . . .

P. S. Would not Prof. Follen consent to occupy the place of E. M. P. Wells as Vice President?

At this meeting, as at divers local anti-slavery meetings,— the first of their respective organizations since the mob of October 21,—Mr. Garrison's hands were naturally upheld by resolutions of praise and confidence. To the censorious comments of the religious press on such tributes he replied: "I have not solicited the applause of any man, or body of men; nor have I spared any man or body of men — not even my generous benefactor, Arthur Tappan, or Samuel H. Cox, or Gerrit Smith, or William Ellery Channing — for the sake of preserving or enlarging my reputation." With no one of these had he dealt more faithfully or severely than with Gerrit Smith, as to no other had he more liberally granted space in the *Liberator* for counter criticism of himself and of the anti-slavery movement. George Benson writes to his son Henry, at Providence, February 13, 1836: "Your brother Garrison had a letter yesterday with a check from Gerrit Smith (for thirty dollars), who may read in the *Liberator* of this day some severe animadversions on his palpable inconsistency. But Garrison intends to write to him a friendly letter, which I much approve." These animadversions had been called out by Mr. Smith's formal leave-taking of the Colonization Society, as printed in the *Liberator* of February 6. Mr. Garrison defended that Society against the pretence that it had changed for the worse so that an abolitionist could no longer remain in it; and the anti-slavery organization against the implication that it had abandoned the aims and methods which up to the time of the Utica mob had been reprobated by Mr. Smith. The letter of withdrawal was pronounced "not ingenuous," and full of error, the proof and product of confusion of mind.

Lib. 6:59.

MS.

Lib. 6:26.

Lib. 6:23.

Lib. 6: 22. So distinguished a convert, bringing a New Year's gift of a thousand dollars, might, it seemed to many of the abolitionists, have been spared this inhospitable welcome to their ranks. Lewis Tappan wrote from New *MS.* York to Mr. Garrison, February 25, 1836: "Your remarks on Mr. G. Smith have given uneasiness, I learn, to some abolitionists, but they were well-timed. We ought to deal kindly with such a man as Mr. Smith, but until he confesses his faults he ought to be rebuked publicly." The sequel showed that a magnanimous mind like Gerrit Smith's could well endure his critic's inflexible application of principles. The wounds made left no scar, as should ever be the effect of friendly shafts that "only pierce for healing." In a letter to *Lib.* 6: 106. the *Liberator*, dated June 24, urging Mr. Garrison, as against Judge Jay, to make abstinence from slave-products a personal practice and a part of the anti-slavery creed, Mr. Smith said: "I acknowledge with pleasure that I am more indebted to your writings than to those of any other man for my abhorrence of slavery. Nor is the pupil in this case any the less grateful because the master has occasionally boxed his ears." They had meantime met, for the first time, in May, at the anniversary meeting in New York, and Mr. Garrison *Lib.* 6: 78. writes: "On personal acquaintance, I am delighted with him as a man and a Christian." In December, there was fresh evidence of Mr. Smith's personal regard:

MS. Boston, Dec. 17, 1836. "I have received," writes Mr. Garrison to Henry Benson, "a letter from Gerrit Smith, enclosing a check of $50 upon the Utica Bank, as a donation to help sustain the *Liberator*, 'which paper,' he says, 'is, and ever should be, dearer to the heart of the *thorough* American abolitionist than any other anti-slavery periodical. It broke ground in our great and holy cause. It has been, and still is, a most able and eloquent defender of that cause; and whatever may have been its errors, they have not sprung from dishonesty or timidity. The discontinuance of the *Liberator* would be deeply reproachful to our abolitionists, and would furnish the enemy with an occasion for the wildest exultation. It would be also exceedingly cruel to yourself, to

subject you to the painful necessity of seeing your paper die for the want of patronage.' After the wide difference which has existed between us, and the many severe things I have written in reference to his colonization conduct, is not the donation generous, and the panegyric still more liberal? Noble man! not ashamed to praise that which he once repudiated. What would Joseph Tracy and Leonard Bacon say, were I to publish his letter? Perhaps I shall yet do so, as no prohibition is contained in it — though it is not probable that he intended it for publication. He evidently is willing I should do with it as I think proper."[1]

The extracts already given have foreshadowed Mr. Garrison's judgment of Channing's essay on slavery as ultimately recorded in a formal review. Before coming to this, he answered some taunts of Tracy's *Recorder* about Channing's censure of the abolitionists and of Thompson by saying: "But we ["the Garrison party"] do claim all that is sound or valuable in the book as *our own;* its sole excellencies are its *moral plagiarisms* from the writings of abolitionists, which the Dr. has taken, without having the magnanimity to intimate that they are the very principles which we have cherished as the apple of our eye, whatever may have been the 'indiscreetness' of our measures, or the 'rashness' of our zeal: nay, he puts them forth to the world as if they were some new moral discoveries." George Thompson wrote from Liverpool, January 14, 1836: "To me it appears that Dr. C. has done little more than republish the PRIMER of the abolitionists, appending thereto certain remarks which show his lamentable ignorance of the state of public opinion around him, and, as a natural consequence, of the means necessary to carry on and complete the reformation which is to purify and bless your country."

Lib. 6:3. *Jan.* 2, 1836.

Lib. 6:42.

William Goodell thought himself personally aggrieved, and that Dr. Channing had helped himself freely to the

MS. Feb. 25, 1836.

[1] It was printed in *Lib.* 6:206, with an editorial introduction in the above sense. The gift was spontaneous on Mr. Smith's part, on learning through the *Liberator* itself of its necessities.

ideas contained in his monthly articles on "Human Rights" published in the *Emancipator*, and suggested that this be shown by parallel passages in the *Liberator*. But the indebtedness was general. As for his impulse to write at all, Dr. Channing told Mrs. Child in 1833 that the reading of her '**Appeal**' had aroused his conscience to the query whether he ought to remain silent on the subject. Mr. Garrison's direct private exhortation early in the following year must have kept him (or any man) awake to his duty. But it was not till after the mob of October 21 that he was "heartily engaged in writing on the subject of slavery."[1] Mrs. Child, in an open letter to him, written after she had read his essay, declared: "Had it not been for the honest enthusiasm of Wm. L. Garrison, I should have never felt, thought, or written on this subject. How far this is the case with Doctor Channing, no mortal, not even himself, can tell."

July–Nov., 1835.

Mrs. Child's Letters, p. 48.

Ante, 1:464.

Channing's Life, p. 537.

Lib. 6:53.

In no spirit of jealousy, however, did Mr. Garrison approach his review, which, after all, was less elaborate and extended than he had contemplated. The thing to be noticed in his attitude is the same as in the case of Gerrit Smith: an unyielding purpose to expose and refute the errors, fallacies, and misrepresentations of every proselyte to the cause, or every ally, however great his name or desirable his accession. He had watched for the second edition of the essay, and found a few more pages added, but no improvement on the score of consistency or fairness. It reiterated all the offensive allusions to and unmerited charges against the immediate emancipationists; it withdrew, but without apology, the endorsement of Kaufman's libel on George Thompson. Mr. Garrison summed up his objections under twenty-five heads, showing that the book "is utterly destitute of any redeeming, reforming power — that it is calumnious, contradictory, and unsound — and that it

Lib. 6:35.

Right and Wrong, 1836, [2] p. 20; *ante*, p. 4.

[1] The book went to press the first week in November, 1835 ('Life of W. E. Channing,' Centenary Memorial edition, p. 537).

ought not to be approbated by any genuine abolitionist. 'He that is not with us is against us.'" [1] CHAP. II. 1836.

While this censure was in the press the following was being penned for private reading:

W. L. Garrison to William Goodell, at Providence.

BROOKLYN, February 26, 1836. *MS.*

MY DEARLY BELOVED COADJUTOR: Your very kind, instructive and acceptable letter of yesterday has been received, for which I return you many thanks.

I perceive that bro. George has misapprehended me, respecting my contemplated review of Dr. Channing's book. Whether I shall give my criticisms to the public through the medium of the *Liberator* exclusively, or whether they will appear in another form, I have not yet determined, for they remain to be written. At the longest, I shall make only a small pamphlet — not "a book." Nor is it my design to taunt the Dr. on the ground of "plagiarism," because many of his thoughts are like our thoughts, and much of his language is like our language. It would partake too much of the ridiculous, and savor too strongly of vanity or churlishness, for any abolition writer to plume himself upon having anticipated other writers in vindicating certain fundamental doctrines, appertaining to governments and the rights of man. Be assured, such a course is foreign both to my disposition and purpose. *G. W. Benson.*

It is true, I mean to draw some parallel resemblances between Dr. Channing and certain "ultra" abolition writers, *i. e.*, from their disquisitions — and for several reasons. First — To show

[1] Compare this judgment, for severity, with John Quincy Adams's (from quite another point of view), in the following extract from his Diary under date of Jan. 8, 1836: "Read part of a pamphlet on slavery by the Rev. Dr. Channing, of Boston. He treats the subject so smoothly that some of the Southern slaveholders have quoted it with approbation as favoring their side of the question; but it is in fact an inflammatory, if not an incendiary publication. There is a chapter containing an exposition of the nature and character of slavery; then, one upon rights; and then, one of explanations. These have a very jesuitical complexion. The wrong or crime of slavery is set forth in all its most odious colors; and then the explanations disclaim all imputation of criminality upon the slaveholders. There are some remarks, certainly just, upon the relaxation of the moral principle in its application to individual obligation, necessarily resulting from ancient and established institutions. But this is an exceedingly nice and difficult line to draw, and belongs at least as much to the science of casuistry as to that of ethics."

CHAP. II. 1836.

that the Dr. has not made any new moral discoveries, which his admirers would fain make a great doctor-of-divinity-worshipping public believe is the fact. Secondly — To show that the Dr. endorses those very principles which peculiarly characterize the abolitionists as a party, and for the dissemination of which they have been scorned, traduced, injured, and mobbed, as fanatics, madmen and traitors. Thirdly — To show that the Dr. has acted disingenuously, and evinced a want of magnanimity, in not even slightly intimating that the abolitionists, with all their zeal and fanaticism, have uniformly and consistently maintained the great essential doctrines upon which human rights find an immovable basis. My object, in this last particular, is not so much to bring honor to any particular individuals, (though the rule is a good one — "Honor to whom honor is due"), as it is to vindicate *the anti-slavery cause*, as such, from the misrepresentations which have been cast upon it, even by some of the very men who are now lauding Dr. C.'s book to the skies. They who have been maligned ought to possess their souls in patience; but they certainly have a right modestly to acquit themselves, if they can.

I think that you and I will agree as to the propriety and utility of such a presentation of the case.

Some other parallelisms will be drawn, which will be quite as afflicting to the Dr. and his admirers. These will show that his book abounds with inconsistencies, and neutralizes every useful truth contained in it. Abolitionists, in my opinion, have been hasty and unwise in praising the book, and taking special pains to circulate it. You will probably see, in the *Liberator* of to-morrow, twenty-four reasons why I think they ought not to laud or commend the work. The graphic picture which you have painted in your noble and disinterested speech in Boston, (a speech which ought to have been spoken in your behalf, not mine, for you are a much older and a better soldier, and without your early co-operation the anti-slavery cause would have dragged heavily), — I say, that picture of the effect produced upon an individual "remotely connected with slaveholding," in reading Dr. C.'s book *through*, shows plainly the inefficacy, nay the deleterious tendency, of such a give-and-take-again production. Your other objection is a vital one — "Dr. C.'s separates the sinner from his sin." This is a radical defect; and a book which is radically defective will never aid in reforming a radically corrupt nation.

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There is one individual whom Dr. C. deigns to quote approvingly — but he is not an abolitionist — viz., Pres. Wayland.

I cannot think that Dr. C. is ignorant of the writings of abolitionists. He has long been a subscriber to the *Liberator*, and has been presented with many other anti-slavery publications. The *Emancipator*, as the official organ of the national society, I presume he has carefully perused; and there is the strongest possible evidence that your essays upon "Human Rights" were before him when he wrote his chapter upon the same subject. I shall have occasion to allude to your essays in my review. I have read them all, carefully, with delight and profit.

Is it said by some of our number, "It is true, Dr. C. uses us rather ungenerously — but then, his opposing us will only cause his book to obtain a greater circulation, and to be read more candidly"? I answer — the cause and the advocates of the cause are closely identified. Separate them, and the cause at once encounters defeat. We deceive ourselves if we imagine that hostility to the abolitionists is no evidence of hostility to emancipation. George Thompson would never have been driven from this country,—foreigner as he was,—if he had not branded slavery as sin, and held up the duty of immediate repentance. Why is J. G. Birney in such peril, even in Ohio? Or why were you tracked to Brooklyn by the bloodhounds in New York city? The mobocrats scarcely know a man of us personally; and, aside from the *cause* that we espouse, they find no fault with us. Now, Dr. C. brings two grievous (because slanderous) accusations against the whole body of abolitionists — to wit, that they are *fanatics*, and that something has probably been *lost* to the cause of human liberty by their efforts!! *We* may complacently smile at such accusations; but the reputation of Dr. C. gives them an influence disastrous to our cause — yea, they are a two-edged sword, wounding us and our cause by the same blow. It was the preaching of the gospel alone that made Peter and Paul, and Silas and Stephen, "pestilent fellows," "stirrers up of sedition," etc. It appears to me that Dr. C.'s book has no just claim upon us as to a particularly tender treatment: nay, it ought to be reviewed sharply, not acrimoniously, and with all fidelity. I wish I could persuade *you* to undertake this review, because I think it would be more skilfully done; and if you will promise to write it, I will desist.

Ante, p. 87. What say you, my dear friend? Were my late strictures upon Gerrit Smith merited or not? His letter to Gurley was not, I think, magnanimous. He seems to be wholly unwilling to allow that he himself has erred in his views or principles at any time, but is liberal in rebuking both the Anti-Slavery and the Colonization Societies.

Elements of Moral Science. My copy of Wayland's Elements, (first edition), I have left in Boston. I meant to have noticed the work ere this. The part to which you allude I had marked for review. Another edition of the work has been published, "abridged and adapted to the use of schools and academies," a copy of which is before me. The work is almost entirely rewritten, and, as a *whole*, is of some value. On the subject of slavery, he is corrupt and oppressive. "If," he says, "the slave be able to take care of himself, [the master is to be judge and jury, you will observe], the master will either immediately manumit him,—*or*,—☞ by allowing him such wages as are just, enable him, *in process of time*, to liberate himself"!! that is, will make him pay roundly for an inalienable right!

In his chapter on Benevolence, he is equally inconsistent. Speaking of injuries received, he says—"Our blessed Saviour spent his life in doing good to his bitterest enemies, unmoved by the most atrocious and most malignant injustice. So we are commanded to bless them that curse us, &c. God has made it the condition of the pardon of our offences." "On our obedience to this command is suspended our only hope of salvation." Yet he immediately adds—"If a man break into my house, it does not follow that I should not take proper means to have him *put in prison*"!!

☞ Go to Utica, by all means. True, you are wanted very much in Connecticut, at this crisis, and perhaps you can so arrange matters as to labor here till the May meeting. At all events, go to Utica. I would rather see you in charge of an abolition paper, or any other moral reform paper, than any other man in the range of my acquaintance. You may do much, I know, as a correspondent of the *Emancipator*, but you ought never to vacate the editorial chair as long as you have strength to fill it. Write me again soon.

Yours affectionately,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

It was barely a week after the appearance of the editorial review in the *Liberator* that Dr. Channing and Mr. Garri-

son met for the first time, drawn to one place by a common interest in preserving liberty of speech in Massachusetts. The Southern legislative entreaties for repression of the abolitionists, together with that portion of Governor Everett's message which intimated that the common law would serve the purpose, had been referred by the Massachusetts Legislature to a joint committee of five, of which Senator George Lunt (from Essex County) was chairman. Before this committee, on the 4th of March, 1836, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was, on its own request, granted a hearing, less in self-exculpation than in order to defeat the Southern and pro-Southern design on a common right. Mr. Garrison, summoned by the Board of Managers for the occasion, left his wife and infant on Wednesday, the 2d of March, and, in company with S. J. May, proceeded on that day as far as Providence.

Account of the Interviews, etc.; Lib. 6: 43, 46, 49; May's Recollections, pp. 185–202.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife, at Brooklyn.

BOSTON, March 5, 1836. *MS.*

. . . At 8 o'clock, next morning, we left for Boston in the stage-coach, (on runners), the rail-cars being obstructed by the ice. Arrived safely at 3 o'clock P. M. Mr. May was delighted to find his wife and his little one in prosperous health. A very kind reception was given to me by all the friends at Miss Parker's. Called immediately upon Mrs. Chapman, who was exceedingly glad to see me again in the city, especially at this crisis. In the course of the afternoon, our Board of Managers held a meeting at Mr. Sewall's office, with reference to the defence that we should make the next day before the Legislative Committee. It was finally arranged that Mr. May should open the defence by stating the prominent facts respecting the rise and progress of the abolition cause, and the object and motives of those who were united together in the anti-slavery societies; and also by showing the *moral* obligations which rested upon us, as men, as patriots, and as Christians, to plead for the suffering and the dumb. It was then proposed that I should next follow, vindicating ourselves from the charge of endeavoring to excite the slaves to revolt, by quoting from our official docu-

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ments those sentiments of forgiveness, submission, and non-resistance which we have so frequently inculcated. Ellis Gray Loring was to follow me, proving that we had done nothing, and proposed to do nothing, that was repugnant either to the letter or the spirit of the U. S. Constitution, or the Constitution of this State; and, consequently, that the Legislature could have no authority to legislate upon the subject of abolition. Mr. Sewall was to succeed Mr. Loring, and show that not only had we not violated the Constitution, but that we had not infringed upon any statute or law of the State or of Congress, etc., etc., etc.

In the evening I took tea at Mrs. Chapman's; after which, as I sat holding a brisk conversation with the Westons and Chapmans, who should come into the room with bro. May but our esteemed friend Wm. Goodell from Providence? It seems that he had heard of the contemplated examination, and was at once deputed by our abolition friends in P. to be present. It was at once arranged by us that he should address the Committee on this point — what a law against abolition would *not* do, and what it *would* do — *i. e.*, it would not put down the anti-slavery cause, nor suppress excitement, nor gag the abolitionists — it would only disgrace the Commonwealth.

Henry Benson.

That night I tarried at Mr. Chapman's, having first seen bro. Henry and friend Knapp, whom I found to be in good health.

Friday, March 4, 1836.

Yesterday afternoon, we went up to the State House to present ourselves and our cause before the *august* committee, &c. The gallery of the Senate was filled at an early hour with a choice and crowded assembly of ladies, who had got information that Paul and King Agrippa were to have an interview. The committee seemed, for some time, to be resolved that our meeting should be a failure, as they kept us waiting for an hour and a half longer than the appointed time. However, they at last concluded to allow us to go into the spacious hall of the House of Representatives, and our audience soon became large and *highly* respectable, many members of the Legislature being present, and also the Westons, the Chapmans, Miss Martineau, Miss Jeffery,[1] Mrs. Follen, Dr. Channing, &c. I was introduced to Dr. C. on the spot, and shook hands with him, but had no opportunity to converse with him.[2]

[1] Miss Martineau's travelling companion.

[2] It was this handshaking that prompted Mrs. Chapman's remark: "Righteousness and peace have kissed each other." "It was," says Mrs.

Ellis Gray Loring.

Mr. May began the defence, and spoke pretty [well?] for nearly an hour, but was frequently interrupted by the members of the committee, who, with one exception, behaved in an insolent and arbitrary manner. Mr. Loring then spoke for about fifteen or twenty minutes in a very admirable manner. Mr. Goodell then followed at some length, very ably, but was cramped by the committee. I succeeded him pretty warmly, but without interruption.[1] Prof. Follen began next, with great boldness and eloquence, but had not proceeded far before he was stopped by the chairman of the committee, very impertinently,[2] who said it was a mere matter of *favor* that we were permitted to be heard at all. We resented the imputation, and asserted our *right* to be heard — and finally told the committee that we should petition the Legislature for leave to be heard as a matter of right, which we did to-day, and are to be heard next week. The effect has been good for our cause.

May's Recollections, p. 188. *Ebenezer Moseley.*

Life of Follen, p. 389.

Chapman herself (MS. November, 1882), "a mere *jeu d'esprit* whispered in the ear of Mrs. Follen, who told Harriet Martineau of it, and so it reached the ears of the Channings, and thereupon Dr. Channing said he did not know it was Mr. Garrison." Miss Martineau's version, in her article on the "Martyr Age of the United States," in the *Westminster Review* for December, 1838, is, that Dr. Channing "afterwards explained that he was not at the moment certain that it was Mr. Garrison, but that he was not the less happy to have shaken hands with him."

[1] Mr. Lunt, not content with his many outrageous interruptions on this occasion, had the dulness to invent another, of which he represented Mr. Garrison to have been the victim (see p. 108 of his preposterous 'Origin of the Late War,' Boston, 1866, and the citation from it in a letter to the Boston *Daily Advertiser* of Feb. 17, 1883). There is no mention of it in the official pamphlet 'Account of the Interviews which took place on the 4th and 8th of March,' etc., published by the Mass. A. S. Society. Mr. Garrison's opening ran as follows: "Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as your honorable committee have said to the abolitionists, 'Paul, thou art permitted to speak for thyself,' I, for one, am disposed to reply with all sincerity, 'I thank thee, King Agrippa.' Yet I am not willing to consider it merely as a *favor* that we are permitted to appear before you" (*Lib.* 6:50).

[2] Dr. Follen had been showing the relation of cause and effect between the Faneuil Hall meeting and the mob of October 21, as foreshadowing the result of legislative resolutions censuring the abolitionists. "Would not the mobocrats again undertake to execute the informal sentence of the General Court? Would they not let loose again their bloodhounds upon us?" He was interrupted by Mr. Lunt: "Stop, sir. You may not pursue this course of remark. It is insulting to this committee and to the Legislature which they represent." This farce was repeated at the second hearing. "Am I, then, to understand that speaking disrespectfully of mobs is disrespectful to this Committee?" inquired Dr. Follen (*Lib.* 6:47; 'Life of Follen,' p. 396).

W. L. Garrison to his Wife, at Brooklyn.

MS.

BOSTON, March 7, 1836.

Since my return to the city, my numerous anti-slavery friends have vied with each other in proffering their kindnesses to me. It strengthens me exceedingly to know that their confidence and esteem have suffered no abatement, nay, *March* 5. that absence has but greatly augmented them. Saturday night *Henry Benson.* I slept with Knapp and Henry in the office, and had as comfortable a time as such a berth could possibly give, be it more *March* 6. or less. Sabbath forenoon, Mr. May, Henry and myself went to hear Dr. Channing preach,[1] and were happily not disappointed. The sermon was full of beauty and power, worthy to be written in starry letters upon the sky. The text was, "Thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven." . . .

I have had two long and very satisfactory interviews with Miss Martineau. She is plain and frank in her manners, and not less so in her conversation. I can assure you that we abolitionists need not fear that she will ever print anything, either in this country or in England, inimical to us, or in favor of the Colonization Society. She is now abiding under the roof of Dr. Channing, and no doubt will do him much good.[2] Last *Sunday, March* 6. evening, there was a circle gathered by special invitation at Mr. Loring's house, among the number being Miss Martineau, Miss Jeffery, Mr. and Mrs. Chapman, Mr. May, Messrs. Rantoul

[1] This may have been the occasion of which Mrs. Chapman speaks (MS. November, 1882): "It was about this time [the mob time] that Mr. Garrison expressed to us a wish to hear Dr. Channing preach, and we invited him to take a seat in the pew kindly placed at our disposal by one of Dr. Channing's friends, Mr. Stephen Higginson, and which we then occupied. Mr. Garrison accepted the invitation. Next day came a notice to us from Mr. Higginson that he could not allow us seats in his pew any longer."

[2] During Miss Martineau's stay at Dr. Channing's, relates Mrs. Chapman (MS. November, 1882): "I invited her with Dr. and Mrs. Channing to tea, 'to meet Mr. Garrison.' She came to me next day, with much satisfaction on her face, saying, 'I think he'll come'; and afterwards she told me, 'He would have come if you had not said *to meet Mr. Garrison.*'" Evidence of this avoidance might be multiplied. Mr. Garrison was clearly an exception to Dr. Channing's profession, in a letter to J. G. Birney, following the destruction of the *Philanthropist* (*ante*, p. 77): "I feel myself attracted to the friends of humanity and freedom, however distant; and when such are exposed by their principles to peril and loss, and stand firm in the evil day, I take pleasure in expressing to them my sympathy and admiration" (*Lib.* 7:1). But neither after the Boston mob, nor at any other time, so

and Hillard, of the Legislature,[1] Dr. Follen, Dr. Bradford, myself, etc., etc. The evening was profitably spent in earnest discussion of some of the great topics of reform. The visitors left about half-past 10 o'clock. I went home and tarried with the Chapmans. *Gamaliel Bradford.*

Yesterday afternoon, Mr. May, Mr. Goodell and myself attended meeting in the African meeting-house, Belknap Street. Our colored friends beheld us gladly, and were particularly careful to let me know how happy they felt to hear that Mrs. G. had got a fine little son. Indeed, that event tickles them beyond measure. We are doubly dear to them on that account. My Sonnets seem to be universally admired. Mr. May said that Mr. Alcott wept as he read them, with excess of feeling. *Sunday, March 6, 1836.* *A. Bronson Alcott.*

I am writing this letter at friend Fuller's, who is the same kind, disinterested man as ever, and who, with his excellent wife, desires me to send special remembrances to you. All the friends are extremely anxious to see you and the dear babe, and stand ready to give a welcome reception to you both. . . . *John E. Fuller.*

The committee of the Legislature have not yet granted us a hearing again, but will probably do so in the course of a few days. Whether I shall address them again will depend upon my feelings and circumstances. Mr. Goodell leaves the city to-morrow morning. He has drawn up for us a very able Memorial, to be presented to the Legislature.

The Sonnets in question were those "addressed to an infant[2] born on Saturday last, February 13th, 1836, by

far as is known, did Dr. Channing so much as address a line to Mr. Garrison. "Abolition is still the exciting topic," he wrote from Newport on Oct. 27, 1835 — the editor of the *Liberator* having gone to jail on Oct. 21. "The mobs still interfere with the anti-slavery meetings, and the South alarms many at the North by threatening us with separation. *Happily, the great prosperity of the country and the pressure of business do not allow people to think much on the subject*"! ('Memoir,' 3:170). No wonder this letter was suppressed in the Centenary edition of the 'Memoir.'

[1] Robert Rantoul, then a Democrat, and at the beginning of his honorable political career. George S. Hillard, a lawyer like Rantoul, afterwards an eminent orator; but his course in regard to slavery was an anti-climax.

[2] A son named for George Thompson, who quickly returned the compliment in April, when Mrs. Thompson presented him with a son. The editor of the Norwich (Conn.) *Aurora* chronicled the former naming, and advised Mr. Garrison to call his next boy Benedict Arnold (MS. April 10, 1836).

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the Editor," and printed in the *Liberator* of February 20. They here follow:

I.

Lib. 6:31; *Writings of W. L. G.*, *p.* 261.

Heaven's long-desired gift! my first-born child!
Pledge of the purest love! my darling son!
Now do I feel a father's bliss begun,—
A father's hopes and fears,— babe undefiled!
Shouldst thou be spared, I could be reconciled
Better to martyrdom,— so may be won
Freedom for all, and servile chains undone.
For if, amid this conflict, fierce and wild,
With the stout foes of God and man, I fall,
Then shalt thou early fill my vacant post,
And, pouring on the winds a trumpet-call,
Charge valiantly OPPRESSION'S mighty host;
So captive millions thou shalt disenthral,
And, through the mighty GOD, of victory boast.

II.

Remember, when thou com'st to riper years,
That unto GOD, from earliest infancy,
Thy grateful father dedicated thee,
And sought HIS guidance through this vale of tears.
Fear GOD — then disregard all other fears;
Be, in HIS Truth, erect, majestic, free;
Abhor OPPRESSION — cling to LIBERTY —
Nor recreant prove, though horrid Death appears.
I charge thee, in the name of HIM who died
On Calvary's cross,— an ignominious fate,—
If thou wouldst reign with the GREAT CRUCIFIED,
Thy reputation and thy life to hate:
Thus shalt thou save them both, nor be denied
A glittering crown and throne of heavenly state!

III.

Flesh of my flesh! now that I see thy form,
And catch the starry brilliance of thine eyes,
And hear, sweet music! thy infantile cries,
And feel in thee the life-blood beating warm,
Strange thoughts within me generate and swarm;

Streams of emotion, overflowing, rise;
Such joy thy birth affords, and glad surprise,
O nursling of the sunshine and the storm!
Bear witness, Heaven! do I hate Slavery less,—
Do I not hate it more, intensely more,—
Now this dear babe I to my bosom press?
My soul is stirred within me—ne'er before
Have horrors filled it with such dire excess,
Nor pangs so deep pierced to its inmost core!

IV.

Bone of my bone! not all Golconda's gold
Is worth the value of a hair of thine!
Yet is the Negro's babe as dear as mine—
Formed in as pure and glorious a mould:
But, ah! inhumanly 'tis seized and sold!
Thou hast a soul immortal and divine,
My priceless jewel!—In a sable shrine
Lies a bright gem, "bought with a price" untold!
A little lower than th' angelic train
Art thou created, and a monarch's power,
My potent infant! with a wide domain,
O'er beast, bird, fish, and insect, is thy dower:
The Negro's babe with thee was made to reign—
As high in dignity and worth to tower!

V.

O, dearest child of all this populous earth!
Yet no more precious than the meanest slave!
To rescue thee from bondage, I would brave
All dangers, and count life of little worth,
And make of stakes and gibbets scornful mirth!
Am I not perilling as much to save,
E'en now, from bonds, a race who freedom crave?
To bless the sable infant from its birth?
Yet I am covered with reproach and scorn,
And branded as a madman through the land!
But, loving thee, FREE ONE, my own first-born,
I feel for all who wear an iron band:—
So Heaven regard my son when I am gone,
And bless and aid him with a liberal hand!

W. L. Garrison to Geo. W. Benson, at Providence.

MS.

BROOKLYN, March 15, 1836.

Bro. Goodell has told you, no doubt, the results of his visit to Boston — a visit which was very opportune, and highly serviceable to the cause of human rights. Our abolition friends were all delighted to see and hear him. In the interview we had with the Legislative committee, he spoke exceedingly well, better than anybody else, and was for that very reason more insolently treated by the chairman of the committee than any of our number, not excepting even Prof. Follen.[1] He drew up a very able defence of the principles and measures of the abolitionists, which was adopted by our abolition committee, and is now probably in the hands of the members of the Legislature, in a pamphlet form.[2] Since he left, our Society sent in another memorial to the Legislature, setting forth that our rights had been disregarded as freemen, that the committee would not suffer us to be fully heard in self-defence, and remonstrating afresh against the passage of any law or resolutions in derogation of anti-slavery men or measures.

Right and Wrong in Boston, 1836, (2) *p.* 8; *May's Recollections*, *p.* 191; *Lib.* 6: 43, 50.

In the Senate, the memorial was laid upon the table. In the House of Representatives, as soon as it was read, Mr. Walley,[3] of Boston, (a member of Dr. Beecher's church, I am told, and a hot-headed colonizationist,) rose and moved that it be not received by the House! falsely and furiously declaring that it was insulting in its language, and that it was prejudging the committee, etc., etc. This bold attempt to kick the memorial out of the chamber, and to trample under foot the sacred right of petition and remonstrance, excited the strongest general indignation among the members. It made at once many abolition converts, and was overruled for good, great and lasting good. A very spirited debate ensued, in the course of which Mr. Walley received a severe castigation, and stood alone in his infamous proposition. That debate was worth more than a

[1] Dr. Follen's outspoken connection with the abolitionists had already cost him his Harvard professorship, which was allowed to lapse without renewal (May's 'Recollections,' p. 254: Hudson's 'History of Lexington,' p. 360).

[2] 'A Full Statement of the Reasons which were in part offered to the Committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts,' etc. (Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1836).

[3] Samuel Hurd Walley, Jr., afterwards Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and Whig Representative in Congress. He was a Harvard graduate (1826), and a member of Park-St. Church.

thousand dollars to our cause. George Blake, of Boston, (though opposed to the abolitionists), said that our fundamental principles were incontrovertible; that slavery could not long continue in our land; that it stood on the same level with the Genthoo sacrifices; and that he did not believe a man, or any body of men, could be found in that assembly, who would dare to propose any law, or any resolutions, censuring the anti-slavery society, or any other. Mr. Rantoul of Gloucester, Mr. Foster of Brimfield, Mr. Hillard of Boston, Mr. Longley of [Hawley], all spoke in favor of our rights; also, Mr. Ward of Danvers, and Mr. Durfee of Fall River. Mr. Durfee said he was proud to acknowledge himself as one of the proscribed abolitionists, and he thanked God that he stood where he could vindicate his own rights and the rights of others. A motion was now made to lay our memorial upon the table — ayes 204, noes 216. It was then referred to the committee. The next day a warm debate ensued in the Senate. I cherish strong hopes that our Legislature will pass no resolutions against us — a gag law is out of the question. Massachusetts is still the sheet-anchor of our country.

Festus Foster. Thomas Longley. Joshua H. Ward. Gilbert H. Durfee.

Mr. Garrison did not speak at the second hearing. The significant portion of his remarks at the first will here be given:

"Mr. Chairman, there is one aspect of this great question which has not yet been presented to the committee. The liberties of the people of the free States are identified with those of the slave population.[1] If it were not so, there would be no hope, in my breast, of the peaceful deliverance of the

Lib. 6:50

[1] A truth beautifully expressed in verse, years afterwards, by Whittier, in his "At Port Royal":

"Rude seems the song; each swarthy face,
Flame-lighted, ruder still:
We start to think that hapless race
Must shape our good or ill;

"That laws of changeless justice bind
Oppressor with oppressed;
And, close as sin and suffering joined,
We march to Fate abreast.

"Sing on, poor hearts! your chant shall be
Our sign of blight or bloom,—
The Vala-song of Liberty,
Or death-rune of our doom!"

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latter class from their bondage. Our liberties are bound together by a ligament as vital as that which unites the Siamese twins. The blow which cuts them asunder, will inevitably destroy them both. Let the freedom of speech and of the press be abridged or destroyed, and the nation itself will be in bondage; let it remain untrammelled, and Southern slavery must speedily come to an end.

"Sir, we loudly boast of our free country, and of the Union of these States. Yet I have no country! As a New Englander, and as an abolitionist, I am excluded by a bloody proscription from one-half of the national territory; and so is every man who is known to regard slavery with abhorrence. Where is our Union? . . . The right of free and safe locomotion from one part of the land to the other is denied to us, except on peril of our lives! . . . Therefore it is, I assert, that the Union is now *virtually* dissolved. . . . Look at McDuffie's sanguinary message! Read Calhoun's Report to the U. S. Senate, authorizing every postmaster in the South to plunder the mail of such Northern letters or newspapers as he may choose to think incendiary! Sir, the alternative presented to the people of New England is this — they must either submit to be gagged and fettered by Southern taskmasters, or labor unceasingly for the removal of slavery from our country. . . .

"In Massachusetts, a colored citizen stands on the same equality with the Governor of the State. He is entitled to vote, and may be elected to fill any office in the gift of the people. No slaveholding State, therefore, can legislate against his rights, any more than against the rights of Mr. Webster or Mr. Everett, without violating the American Constitution. But what is the fact? Why, sir, the South does with our colored citizens just as she pleases, in the haughtiness of her heart and the omnipotence of her oppression. They cannot tread upon her soil without being seized and thrust into a loathsome prison, and amerced with a heavy fine, which, if they cannot pay, often causes them to be sold into perpetual bondage to the highest bidder! . . . It is thus that the South adheres to our boasted Constitution. Where, then, are the rights of the citizens of this Commonwealth? Ay, sir, where are our STATE RIGHTS?"

The report of the Lunt committee, though confining itself, in its resolves, to disapprobation of the anti-slavery agitation as unconstitutional, visionary, and perilous to

the Union, and to admonishing the abolitionists to abstain from discussion, and all good citizens of the Commonwealth to refrain from mob violence, failed of adoption. Mr. Garrison, who had again gone to Boston in April, thus wrote to his wife on Saturday, the 16th:

MS.

"On Thursday evening, we had a large meeting of anti-slavery friends, both male and female, at Mrs. Chapman's, which did not break up till about 11 o'clock. Prof. Follen and wife, Ellis G. Loring and wife, Mrs. Child, Miss Ammidon, the Westons, *Miss* Chapman, Mr. Sewall, Mr. Southwick, Mr. Knapp, Mr. Kimball, Mr. Fairbanks, &c., were present. Mrs. Child looks in remarkably good health, and made some remarks at the ladies' meeting on Wednesday last, which manifested that she was as vigorous in spirit as in body. Her husband is at present out of the city, but will return in a few days. They are, I am sorry to say, going with Friend Lundy to Matamoras, near Texas, in all next month. What a hazardous project![1]

John S. Kimball. Drury Fairbanks.

"But to return to the meeting: as we are disappointed in getting a meeting-house or hall in which to hold the N. E. Convention, except our own little hall at 46, we discussed the expediency of having the Convention held either in Providence or Lowell. Mr. Kimball proposed that we should hire a vacant lot of ground in this city, and erect upon it a large shanty, capable of holding two or three thousand people — saying that he would give $25 towards it. It was generally thought, however, that, if erected, it would be torn down before we could occupy it, and would be likely to excite a mob without doing us any benefit, as the market is now getting to be somewhat glutted with deeds of violence. For several good reasons, we have concluded, if we cannot do better, to hold the Convention in Roxbury or Cambridgeport.[2] . . .

[1] This trip was abandoned by both parties. In August, Lundy began in Philadelphia a new weekly, the *National Enquirer*, and resumed the monthly publication of his *Genius* ('Life,' p. 289; *Lib.* 6:131).

[2] This stirring Convention, the published call for which had 3,000 signatures (Supplement to *Lib.* May 14, 1836), and which was attended by 500 delegates, was held in the Rev. Mr. Blagden's Salem-Street Church, Boston, through no good-will of the pastor ('Right and Wrong,' 1836, [2] p. 9), whose retirement, a few months later, to become pastor of the Old South (*Lib.* 6:163), was thought to be in consequence of this Convention. Samuel Fessenden, of Portland, presided (*Lib.* 6:87).

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"Mr. Lunt's Report will be suffered to lie upon the table until it rots. The Senate will not touch it. Good!"

Two days later he again wrote to Mrs. Garrison:

MS. April 18, 1836.

"I have indeed been very busy with the paper and other matters since my return; so busy that I have visited nobody, except the Chapmans and Miss Sargent, and then rather in the way of business. Last evening I was at Miss S.'s, in company with Mrs. Child and several other friends, and had a very agreeable visit. Miss S. is a most excellent lady,— so excellent that it is a pity (don't you think so?) she is not some good man's wife. She speaks of you affectionately, and will be glad to hail your return to the city.[1] And so will many others. . . .

Sunday, April 17.

Amos A. Phelps.

"We have just had a letter from bro. Phelps at New York, stating that Mr. Slade of Vermont had just sent on the agreeable information, that the bill for the admission of Arkansas as a slave State would not get through the House of Representatives, at Washington, short of three or four weeks, and that it will probably create another Missouri excitement. To-day we have had two hundred petitions printed on a letter-sheet, which will be scattered throughout the Commonwealth for signatures, remonstrating against the admission of that State with slavery into the Union. . . .

April 17, 1836.

"Yesterday, I went to hear Dr. Channing preach in the forenoon. His sermon was a very excellent one, in vindication of the equality of man, and the duty of attempting to elevate the lowest classes of society to the highest intellectual and social improvement. He spoke in liberal terms of the workingmen. It was, I should think, too republican a dose for his aristocratical congregation."

It was expressly in view of Dr. Channing's aristocratic surroundings that Mr. Garrison, while declaring his book on slavery necessary to be rejected *as a whole*, gave him credit not only for pure intentions but for moral courage in publishing it. "Dr. Beecher," he added, "stands very far below him, in moral dignity, in relation to the great question of slavery." Dr. Lyman Beecher's Thanksgiving sermon in Cincinnati, rather tardily reported in the *Liberator*, was the immediate occasion of this remark.

Lib. 6:43.

Lib. 6:41.

[1] To the close of a green old age Miss Henrietta Sargent was one of the most generous and attached friends of Mr. Garrison's family.

It was a virtual defence of slavery against foreign criticism by the old *tu quoque* retort — Our laboring class is better off than yours; and distinctly took ground against immediate emancipation.[1] Mr. Garrison dismissed it curtly, having yielded the floor to a correspondent on the spot; but, in spite of his physical indisposition to write at length on any subject, he was led some months afterward into an elaborate critique of the same divine, with consequences too important to permit of its being passed over. "As you have publicly reported me on the sick list," he writes to Knapp from Brooklyn, July 19, 1836, "you may now say that I am somewhat better. I send you some strictures upon a speech recently made by Dr. Beecher, at Pittsburgh, respecting the Sabbath. If they are not so vigorous as they might be, ascribe the deficiency to my bodily debility." Four columns of fine print followed this announcement, with no trace of bodily debility to be found in them. *Lib.* 6: 118.

The public meeting addressed by Dr. Beecher had been called "to take into consideration the increasing desecration of the Sabbath day." The subject was one to which Mr. Garrison was fully alive. A few days before composing his editorial article, he had written as follows to his wife from Providence, while *en route* to Fall River:[2]

"As a specimen of the growing wickedness of the times, take the fact that a military company is to arrive here by appointment to-morrow (the Sabbath), from New York, and that another military company is to turn out here to escort them through the streets! In the afternoon they are to march to the Rev. Dr. Crocker's meeting-house, where I suppose they have been specially invited. Guns, bayonets, swords, plumes, banners, epaulets in church on the Sabbath! It seems a studied, and is a most aggravated, profanation of the day." *MS. July* 2, 1836.

[1] As later before a Colonization meeting at Pittsburgh (*Lib.* 6: 118).

[2] To deliver a 4th of July address. On the night of the 3d (Sunday) an effigy of straw was attached to a post on the Main Street, with a placard marked "Garrison the Abolitionist: a fit subject for the gallows" (*Lib.* 6: 111).

P. II. 36. He began his criticism of Dr. Beecher by attacking the assertion that "the Sabbath is the *great sun of the moral world*," as preposterous and extravagant, and not authorized by the Gospel. It was making the outward observance of one day in the week paramount. But the Sabbath of the decalogue was kept neither by Dr. Beecher nor by most Christians; and, after all, the Fourth Commandment was but one of ten. In the language of the Psalmist, "The LORD GOD is a sun." Christ and the evangelists and apostles are all silent upon this alleged attribute of the Sabbath; Paul even makes the day of small account. "Certain we are," continued Mr. Garrison, "that all attempts to coerce an observance of the Sabbath by legislation have been, must be, and ought to be, nugatory." Again: "Let men consecrate to the service of Jehovah not merely one day in seven, but *all* their time, thoughts, actions and powers." Passing to the origin of the Sabbath, he found it a sign and covenant between Jehovah and the *Israelites*, with special reference to their deliverance from Egypt. The Puritans' Sabbath-keeping was of the strictest while they were banishing Baptists and lacerating and hanging Quakers.

Half his space had been exhausted when Mr. Garrison became aware that he had been led into a course of remark which he did not contemplate at the outset. His central idea had been to rebuke Dr. Beecher for being so strenuous in behalf of the Fourth Commandment while giving his protecting influence to slavery, which annihilated the *whole decalogue*, and excluded two and a half millions of his countrymen from all the benefits of the Sabbath. Dr. Beecher advocated leaving the system alone, as being sure to come to an end in the course of a couple of centuries. He had gagged his students at Lane Seminary until they seceded *en masse*. He was denouncing atheism, but not the slave system based upon it; and fatalism, while supporting the Colonization Society, which held that the blacks were fated to remain

degraded in this country. He professed to have blushed (though alone) while reading the socialistic tracts of Robert Owen and Fanny Wright; but when had he done so, in public or in private, at the practical and legal annihilation of the marriage institution among the slaves by Christians of all denominations? CHAP. II. 1836.

Mr. Garrison returned to the subject, strictly in its relations to slavery, in the next two numbers of the *Liberator*, accompanying his last article on Dr. Beecher with a long one maintaining the sinfulness of all war, and the Christian character of non-resistance; and a shorter one (inspired by a current news item) on Sabbath-breaking, ridiculing the customary religious moralizing on fatalities overtaking those engaged in secular pursuits on Sunday. The conclusion ran thus: *Lib.* 6: 123, 126.

"These remarks are made, not to encourage men to do wrong at any time, but to controvert a pernicious and superstitious notion, and one that is very prevalent, that extraordinary and supernatural visitations of divine indignation upon certain transgressors (of the Sabbath, particularly and almost exclusively) are poured out now as in the days of Moses and the prophets. Whatever claim the Sabbath may have to a strict religious observance, we are confident it cannot be strengthened, but must necessarily be weakened, by all such attempts to enforce or prove its sanctity. *Lib.* 6: 127.

"Supposing the Fourth Commandment to be, not a Jewish provision merely, but obligatory upon all mankind, we are nowhere taught in the Bible that its violation is worse than that of the third, or fifth, or sixth, or seventh. But it is seldom pretended, even by the most credulous, that *special* judgments, 'speaking the divine disapprobation,' are visited upon the heads of those who commit adultery, or kill, or covet, or will not honor their father and mother. No — a monopoly of punishment is given to the Sabbath, to ensure its strict outward observance!"

From friends and foes of the *Liberator* protestations were quickly heard against this heterodox doctrine. On August 11, Mr. Garrison writes from Brooklyn to Henry Benson: "My review of Dr. Beecher's speech seems to *Lib.* 6: 135. *MS.*

make some fluttering in certain quarters, especially my
MS. remarks upon the sanctity of the Sabbath"; on the 18th he reports to the same that further censure had been visited upon him, as he had anticipated; and on the 21st, that there was still no end of it:

MS. "The only thing that I regret is, the insertion of a communication by Knapp, (written by friend Oakes[1]), headed 'The
Lib. 6: 122. New and Old Puritans,' because it is written in a manner calculated to exasperate, and not to convince. I know how important it is that I should keep the columns of the *Liberator* clear of sectarianism, nor have I ever intended to assail any denominational feelings or peculiarities. The Sabbath question is not sectarian, but general — yet the discussion of it is not exactly proper in the *Liberator*. I have received several letters remonstrating with me on account of my sentiments, but chiefly on the erroneous supposition that I was about making my paper the arena of a sabbatical controversy. Some of these are expressed in kind and friendly language. Not so is the one sent to me by young Hyde of this village [a theological student at New Haven]. Although he has paid in advance up to September, he says that he does not wish to receive another number of the paper — and he considers me 'a dangerous member of the community, deserving the reprobation of every lover of his country'!!

"But the letter which grieves and surprises me most is that of Rev. Jonathan Farr, of Harvard,[2] with whom I believe you are somewhat acquainted. He says: 'I had supposed you a very pious person, and that a large proportion of the abolitionists were religious persons. . . . I have thought of you as another Wilberforce — but would Wilberforce have spoken thus of the day on which the Son of God rose from the dead? . . . I have supposed, that, in your great and incessant exertions in the anti-slavery cause, you were influenced by no worldly nor political motive — that yours was a holy zeal and a Christian benevolence,' etc., etc. Here is Christian charity for you! Because, with Calvin, Belsham, Paley, Fox, Whitby, Barclay, Gill, Selden, Luther, and many other distinguished commentators and pious men, I maintain that, under the gospel dispensation, there is no such thing as a 'holy day,' but that *all*

[1] William Oakes, of Ipswich, Mass.

[2] That is, of the town of Harvard, Mass. Mr. Farr was also a graduate of Harvard College (1818).

our time ought to be sanctified by works of righteousness and in well-doing, — it follows, according to the insinuations of Mr. Farr, that I am *not* a pious person — that abolitionists are *not* religious — that I am influenced by worldly or political motives — that mine is *not* a holy zeal and a Christian benevolence!

"And yet this same individual complains in his letter as follows — 'Though belonging to a denomination of Christians who are *denied the Christian name* by multitudes,' etc. Surely, it is time for him to take the beam from his own eye; surely, if he is disposed to stigmatize me as an infidel, or shut me out from the pale of Christianity, because I differ with him as to the sanctity of an *outward observance* — he ought not to complain if he is treated in the same manner by others, because he differs with them as to the scheme of salvation and the essential dignity of Jesus Christ. He asks, 'Would Wilberforce have spoken thus,' &c. What then? Is Christ or Wilberforce our example? And I ask Mr. Farr in reply, 'Would Wilberforce have denied the identity of Christ with the Father? or would he have been a Unitarian, to gain the applause of the world?' Such questions are not arguments, but fallacies, unworthy of a liberal mind. Bro. May is much grieved at Farr's letter."

Mr. Garrison apologized publicly for the insertion of Mr. Oakes's communication, but in the next number of the *Liberator* aroused anew the bigotry which he sought in a manly way to propitiate. "We have received several letters," he began, "from persons of various religious sects — some expressive of strong condemnation, and others by way of caution — respecting our late remarks upon the Sabbath question, which is now widely agitating the Christian community." The editor did not mean to be diverted from the special advocacy of the one great cause, or to make the *Liberator* the arena of a foreign controversy. His sabbatical strictures upon Dr. Beecher were purely incidental, and to the point that the obligation of nine commandments was ignored in favor of one. He was not opposed to the voluntary religious observance of the first day of the week; but he was "decidedly of opinion that every attempt which is made

Lib. 6: 134.

Lib. 6: 138.

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to enforce its observance, as a peculiarly 'holy day,' by pains and penalties, whether civil or ecclesiastical, is positive tyranny, which ought to be resisted by all the Lord's freemen, all who are rejoicing in the glorious liberty of the sons of God." In support of this position he cited the authorities just enumerated (in the letter to Henry Benson), whom he confessed he had consulted for the first time after his review of Dr. Beecher, being ignorant till then of the views of any commentator.

He had, as he expected, brought down upon himself "the mint-and-cummin editors of the *Vermont Chronicle, New Hampshire Observer*," and their kind. The *Observer*, in order to injure the anti-slavery cause through him, had alleged that he did not belong to the Church of Christ. This was true: "On account of many religious scruples, we have not felt at liberty in conscience to become the partisan of a religious sect, nor to bind ourselves by a human creed, nor to unite in the observance of certain forms and ceremonies." The *Observer* had furthermore charged that he kept his eye fixed intently on one object. "Not exactly," replied Mr. Garrison; "he is watching all the great moral and benevolent movements of the age, as any one 'with half an eye' may see, on examining the file of the *Liberator* from its commencement." However, he meant not to be deviated from the abolition cause, and, so far as the *Liberator* was concerned, then and there took leave of the Sabbath controversy; but, considering the effort making to sanctify the first day of the week as a holy day, he should probably without much delay present his thoughts elaborately in a pamphlet.[1]

His clerical foes, however, would not relax their pursuit of him. Not only his Quaker views of the Sabbath, but his Quaker non-resistance and so-called non-government doctrines, as set forth in his article on Peace, were open to attack. The *Vermont Chronicle* warned the *Liberator's*

Lib. 6: 126.

Lib. 6: 146.

[1] Like many other projects incompatible with his absorbing occupation, this came to nothing.

subscribers of their responsibility for such heresies. Mr. Garrison met the "base and insidious efforts" of the religious press to create distrust and division between himself and his abolition brethren (prompted by jealousy of his early, consistent, and effective advocacy of the anti-slavery cause), by assuming the entire responsibility for all his utterances on slavery or any other topic. Nevertheless, "I trust it will be understood," he said, "that I do not make these remarks by way of apology for anything that I have uttered, or in order to propitiate any of my subscribers. The *Liberator* shall be free to myself, or to any of its patrons, while it continues in existence. I have never solicited the support or favor of any man; nor do I fear the censure or condemnation of any man." His more orthodox associates, though uneasy, and not in agreement with him, would not suddenly desert him. Amos A. Phelps defended him in the *Emancipator*, while disclaiming sympathy with his Sabbath notions, and regretting his mistake in "turning aside" from his main business with Dr. Beecher. Ray Potter stood up for him in the Pawtucket *Record*, saying pertinently and forcibly, "Our association with you, brother Garrison, as abolitionists, is not to build up a CHURCH, but to pull down SLAVERY." Both accused his assailants of sectarian bigotry. But their very disclaimers showed that the enemy knew the breaching spot in the anti-slavery outworks. A New York "Abolitionist," writing to the *Liberator*, whom we can certainly identify with Lewis Tappan, saw in the Sabbath discussion "the germ of animosity and contention among brethren." At the semi-annual meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society on September 15, a resolution of Charles Burleigh's, urging support of the *Liberator*, found Sabbatarian objectors, though the vote was finally unanimous. A week later, Mr. Garrison writes to Mr. May, from Brooklyn:

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Lib. 6: 147.

Lib. 6: 147.

Lib. 6: 147, 167.

Lib. 6: 141.

Lib. 6: 158.

"Now that my sabbatical, as well as some of my other religious sentiments are known, it is pretty certain that the *Liberator* will sustain a serious loss in its subscriptions at the

MS. Sept. 23, 1836.

CHAP. II. 1836.

close of the present volume; and all appeals for aid in its behalf will be less likely to prevail than formerly. I am conscious that a mighty sectarian conspiracy is forming to crush me, and it will probably succeed, to some extent. Well — from the heart I can say, 'The Lord is my portion — I will not fear what men can do unto me.' O, the rottenness of Christendom! Judaism and Romanism are the leading features of Protestantism.[1] I am forced to believe, that, as it respects the greater portion of professing Christians in this land, Christ has died in vain. In their traditions, their forms and ceremonies, their vain janglings, their self-righteousness, their will-worship, their sectarian zeal and devotion, their infallibility and exclusiveness, they are Pharisees and Sadducees, they are Papists and Jews. Blessed be God that I am not entangled with their yoke of bondage, and that I am not allied to them in spirit or form."

In the anti-slavery propagandism of the year, the chief event is thus referred to in the *Liberator* of November 5, 1836: "Not less than seventy Agents have lately been engaged, and are shortly to go forth, in the anti-slavery cause — some 'during the war,' and others for a definite period of action." The prospect inspired Mrs. Chapman to address them in her refined verse, full of ardor; and the occasion of their protracted meeting in New York for instructions, prior to their dispersion in apostolic service, seemed a proper one for Mr. Garrison's presence and counsel:

Lib. 6:179.

Lib. 6:179.

Lib. 6:191.

W. L. Garrison to Henry E. Benson, at Brooklyn, Conn.

MS.

BOSTON, December 3, 1836.

Anna Benson.

My wife, I suppose, has written Anna an account of our trip to New York — a city which she had long been wishing to see, not because "five thousand gentlemen of property and standing," as in Boston, once turned out to mob her husband, (you remember the uproar in October, 1833.) — for she declares that she loves me dearly, and if you will not doubt her word I will not, — but because it is the capital city of America, and swarming,

Ante, 1:381.

[1] "We [the Perfectionists] believe all the essential features of Judaism and of its successor, Popery, may be distinctly traced in nearly every form of Protestant" (John Humphrey Noyes, in the first number of the *Perfectionist*, Aug. 20, 1834).

of course, with all kinds of attractions. Little, however, did either of us dream, on leaving Boston, that she and our dear babe would accompany me farther than Providence; but our warm-hearted friend Lewis Tappan laid claim to us all in the cars, and declared that, nolens volens, to New York we should all go — that he would pay our expenses in going and returning, entertain us comfortably at his house during our sojourn in the city, and allow us to remain as long or as short a period as we might choose. This was too generous an offer to be negatived; I therefore said, "Yea," and also easily persuaded Helen to reply in the affirmative. As for "Dordie Tompit,"[1] he seemed to be ready for any new adventure, and was full of fun and frolic all the way, both in the car and in the steamboat.

Soon after we left Providence, his mother began to feel sick and dizzy, on account of the motion of the boat. I went into the Ladies' Cabin, and found her with her head reposing upon her pillow, and was rejoiced to observe little George, as I thought, asleep in her berth; but it turned out to be somebody else's babe. My attention was drawn to a lively little fellow crawling about the cabin with great glee, who seemed greatly to enjoy the rocking of the boat and the novelty of the scene around him. Many eyes were fastened upon him, but no one seemed to have charge of him. "Well," thought I, "you are a smart little shaver, truly; but I wonder your mother don't observe your movements more narrowly." In a moment, he had crawled to a pile of bowls, and was in the act of pulling it down, when, deeming it time for me to interfere if nobody else would, I took hold of him, drew him back, and lo! it was my own darling babe! — for Helen was too sick to attend to him, and he was revelling in unrestrained liberty.[2] . . .

[1] Parental nursery lingo for "George Thompson."

[2] "DEAR BROTHER GARRISON: Did I not see an experienced phrenologist examine your head? While under his manipulation, did I not hear him say of you, 'You are extremely fond of children'? And I have better evidence than the configuration and size of your bumps, that, in you, children will ever find a friend. I have seen children made happy by your smiles and gentle caresses. Yes, you, whom slaveholders and their abettors denounce as a cruel and ferocious fanatic and incendiary, have a heart to enter into the feelings and sympathies and sports of little children. From the time I first understood your interest in children, and your love of their society, and your aptitude to win their gentle and tender hearts, and their unsuspicious confidence, I felt that whatever was said of your cruel and ferocious spirit must be false" (H. C. Wright, Jan. 4, 1837; *Lib.* 7:10).

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My own dilatory habits aside, you may be disposed to query, why I did not write to you in New York. The truth is, I was too busily employed in convention, and out of it, even to bestow the least attention upon my wife — *i. e.*, I did not walk out with her once — hence, you received no letter from me. Now, a word as to the convention.

With the exception of the meeting which organized the New England Anti-Slavery Society, and that which was held in Philadelphia in 1833, I regard this convention of Agents as of higher importance than any meeting or convocation which has been held to advance the anti-slavery cause. I am sure that its deliberations and proceedings have not been equalled in interest. About thirty of the fifty Agents actually engaged were present — all of them men of talents, amiable in their manners and religious in their professions: Weld was the central luminary, around which they all revolved. Indeed, we must have been a very stupid body if, among so many, and making common stock of all our minds, we could not make our sessions full of interest and pleasure. We held three meetings a day, scarcely allowing ourselves time to eat; and yet, when a fortnight had been thus incessantly occupied, it seemed as if we were but just entering upon the threshold of the great question of slavery — so exhaustless is the theme, so vast the relations involved in the well-being and freedom of man. Beriah Green, Weld, and Stuart were the chief speakers, although every one present participated more or less in the discussions. I spoke repeatedly, but very briefly as I am wont to do.[1] The questions discussed were manifold — such as, What is slavery? What is immediate emancipation? Why don't you go to the South? The slaves, if emancipated, would overrun the North. The consequences of emancipation to the South. Hebrew servitude. Compensation. Colonization. Prejudice. Treatment and condition of our free colored population. Gradualism, etc., etc. All the prominent objections to our cause were ingeniously presented, and as conclusively shown to be futile.

Theodore D. Weld.

It was a wise stroke of policy in bringing the Agents together, that they might see and hear each other, understand each other's feelings and sentiments, cheer each other's hearts, and form a personal friendship with each other. It was a happy

[1] "You know that I always speak in public with reluctance, especially if my remarks be *not* written down — and to *read* is a slavish mode of *speaking*, if speaking it can be called" (MS. April 10. 1836, W. L. G. to G. W. Benson).

Theodore D. Weld

circumstance, too, that I was present with them, and that they had an opportunity to become *personally* acquainted with me; for, as I am a great stumbling-block in the way of the people, or, rather, of some people, it would be somewhat disastrous to our cause if any of our Agents, through the influence of popular sentiment, should be led to cherish prejudices against me. I was most kindly received by all, and treated as a brother beloved, notwithstanding the wide difference of opinion between us on some religious points, especially the Sabbath question. My friend Lewis Tappan had some conversation with me respecting my religious views; but, though we could by no means agree, we harmoniously agreed to differ. ☞ He did not show me his written creed, but I should have been gratified to see it.

Mrs. Garrison had been obliged to return home without her husband. A letter to her, dated New York, November 22, 1836, contained a few more particulars concerning the convention — the last, of great importance:

MS. Nov. 26, 1836.

"It is still my purpose, the Lord willing, to be with you on Saturday morning; but I shall find it extremely difficult to leave, and, on some accounts, shall be reluctant to leave; for the Convention is not to be dissolved until some time next week, and there are many great themes yet to be discussed and illustrated. . . .

Nov. 21, 1836.

"Last evening, we had a large and crowded meeting of our colored people, with many of our leading abolitionists. Several of the former addressed the meeting, in a very interesting manner. I was then called upon to make some remarks, and was received with grateful applause. I spoke about half an hour, and was followed by Weld, who delighted and moved all hearts. Seldom have I witnessed a more thrilling scene. Our hearts were one, and love reigned over all. . . .

T. D. Weld.

"Our Convention has unanimously invited the Grimkés, Angelina and Sarah, (who punctually attended our meetings), to speak whenever they think proper, and to state such facts respecting slavery as they may choose. Sarah has just said, that, although brought up in the midst of slavery, and having conversed with hundreds of *well-treated* slaves, she has never found one who did not long to be free."

One other incident of this November visit to New York deserves to be recorded. Mr. Garrison, sharing the pre-

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vailing interest in phrenology, offered himself for cranial examination to Mr. L. N. Fowler, to whom he was a total stranger. What, in the language of the time, was called the "phrenological development of the character," here follows in full, as a contribution (for what it is worth) to the history of the science:

Lib. 8:152.

"This gentleman has an active mind, quick perception, strong investigating powers, great imagination, great determination and pride of character. He is capable of undergoing great mental excitement.

"His love is pure and platonic. He becomes strongly attached to friends and children. He is always interested in the

Ante, p. 115.

society of children, and gratified by instructing them; yet he always secures their obedience, because he commands their respect.

"His courage is moral, not physical; he uses a moral weapon instead of a physical one. He is not contentious, and avoids difficulty; yet he always defends his character and maintains his opinion, and braves danger when good is to be done.

"His destructiveness is large; he uses effectual measures, and generally accomplishes whatever he begins.

"He is sarcastic when excited, and can say much in a few words.

"He generally keeps his plans and feelings to himself, and carries his plans into execution without divulging them.[1]

"He is very independent, and always thinks for himself. He is sometimes too regardless of the opinion of others, and cares not for the smiles or frowns of men.

"Approbativeness is small; he has not affability enough to balance his independence. He is more proud than vain. He is too high-minded to be flattered, and feels himself above noticing common remarks.

"Self-esteem and firmness are very large, giving him great independence and determination. He glories in standing alone and meeting danger single-handed; and relies more on himself than on any human aid. He never begs, and scorns to ask a favor for himself. He is more willing to give than to receive.

[1] This characterization of secretiveness, with that contained in the eleventh and twelfth succeeding paragraphs, was used by his opponents to discredit Mr. Garrison in later years (2d Annual Report Mass. Abolition Society, in *Free American*, 3:57; and compare p. 243 of Pillsbury's 'Acts of the A. S. Apostles').

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"When he is once convinced that it is right to do anything, he engages in it, regardless of consequences — and does it through pleasure more than duty.

"Self-esteem and benevolence give him a desire to promote the happiness of man — to protect the injured and dependent, and defend the weak. It [*sic*] also gives him a love of liberty, and national pride.

"His firmness sometimes makes him obstinate, united with large self-esteem. He would listen to nothing but what he thought was right.

"His religion consists in the exercise of benevolence and veneration, and he is strongly inclined to venerate and adore. On the subject of religion he takes general and liberal views, and is not guided at all by creeds and ceremonies. He puts no confidence in anything supernatural or strange. His faith is purely the result of reason. He is rather incredulous and sceptical.

"He has a strong desire to promote the happiness of man, and has great sympathy for persons in distress.[1] His benevolence is very large; he is never satisfied but when he is doing good on a large scale. He would sacrifice everything for friends and country.

"His imagination is very strong. He unites reason and imagination, thought and good style, with wit and poetry. His mind always expands on subjects the longer he dwells on them: — the more he says, the more he has to say.

"His talent is both practical and theoretical. He is a great observer of men and things, and is always studying into the character, nature and designs of men. He is also fond of philosophy, both moral and mental, and of metaphysical investigation. His imitation is large, joined with large comparison, wit and language, with ideality. He is very natural in his descriptions, happy in his illustrations, and uses natural comparisons.

"He has something of a theatrical tact. He can easily adapt himself to society. He soon becomes acquainted, and is always at home. He becomes all things to all men, and has great influence over others. He was born to take the lead, rather than be led. He always engages with his whole soul in anything he undertakes, and drives Jehu-like, yet drives safely. He always wants the reins in his own hands.

[1] "You would make a roaring abolitionist," said O. S. Fowler, in ignorance both of his brother's deductions and of the personality of the sitter.

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"He is called reckless by many, yet he always succeeds better than his strongest friends anticipated. He has more forethought than he manifests.

"He has great literary ingenuity, and is full of new schemes and projects. He shows a great deal of tact as a writer and reasoner. He seldom or never commits himself. He unites wit and sarcasm, and always adapts his remarks to the occasion.

"His memory of principles, new ideas, historical facts, of faces, shapes, locations, and the expressions of others, is good.

"He is very wordy, and always has something to say. He has an uncommon talent for a writer. He reasons both by analogy and induction. He is very systematic. He is sometimes over-particular about the arrangement of things. He has a mathematical and mechanical talent, and wishes to have everything done according to rule. He is very happy in his illustrations of the passions and natural inclinations of man, and in portraying the human heart; also in making everything simple, clear and plain, easily understood by a child.

"He wants to engage in business on a large scale. He is willing to ask advice, yet always does what he thinks to be right. His friends are his strong friends, and his enemies are most bitter. He is not so well calculated to please as he is to subdue. He always uses mild measures first, and then the more severe. His firmness is almost too strong, and he is at times too decided and positive. He never compromises to secure the approbation of others, but acts totally regardless of what others may think or say."

The year which had opened joyously with a birth, had been clouded by the rapidly failing health of the beloved Henry Benson, whose predisposition to consumption had been stimulated by his conscientious application to the duties of the Anti-Slavery Office. It closed in mourning for the death of his venerable father, George Benson, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. His daughter Helen and her husband were at his bedside in his last moments. "Mr. Benson," said his son-in-law in the *Liberator*, "was a rare example of moral excellence among mankind. In justness, he was an Aristides — in peaceableness, a Penn — in philanthropy, a Clarkson."

Dec. 11, 1836.

CHAPTER III.

THE CLERICAL APPEAL.—1837.

HENRY BENSON followed his father to the grave in less than a month, in the first half of his twenty-third year; so young, and yet already a veteran in the cause. "At the age of sixteen his mind had the maturity of manhood." He was only nineteen when he threw himself ardently into the defence of Prudence Crandall against her persecutors. He took a leading part in organizing the Providence Anti-Slavery Society and in revolutionizing the public sentiment of Rhode Island. He was the last abolitionist to bid good-bye to George Thompson, whose travelling associate and secretary he had been. His services to the *Liberator*, as its editor testified, contributed largely to its permanent support. Elected in July, 1835, Secretary and General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, he proved the most valuable business man who had ever filled that post. "The adjoining room witnessed his incessant toil," said Mr. May, at the first meeting of the Society after its loss; "there he labored with an assiduity which spared not himself — and there, I hesitate not to say, he sacrificed his life. We saw his health failing — we remonstrated — but he saw the cause suffering for just such labors as his — he went on — he lingered a little while —— and died." The speaker could not proceed for his emotion. "Nearly all present were in tears."

Jan. 6, 1837.

Lib. 7:15.

Ann. Report Mass. A. S. Soc., 1837, *p.* 71; *ante*, 1:320.

Lib. 7:15.

Lib. 7:26. *January* 27, 1837.

MS. Feb. 4, 1837, *W. L. G. to Anna Benson.*

At this meeting, not unfittingly, the perennial subject of the financial condition of the *Liberator* was brought

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up. Another crisis had arisen with the new year, and it was scarcely less urgent (so vast had become the anti-slavery literature of the day) to enlarge the paper than to maintain it, and it was still far from being self-supporting. Mr. Garrison wrote from Boston on February 4, 1837, to Anna Benson:

MS.

"About three hours were occupied in discussing the merits of the *Liberator* and its editor. The Sabbath question was also taken up. I dare not tell you, dear Anna, what fine things were said about me. To my surprise, notwithstanding that 'delicate' subject, the Sabbath, was alluded to in connexion with my review of Dr. Beecher's speech, there was but one feeling manifested toward me, and that of the most enthusiastic kind. What was peculiarly pleasing was to find men of various sects joining in one common panegyric. Among the speakers were Rev. Mr. Norris, Methodist; Isaac Winslow, Friend; Rev. Mr. Hall, Congregationalist; Rev. Mr. St. Clair, Unitarian, etc., etc.[1] Bro. May poured out his soul as usual, and said that the same ball which laid Garrison low, would carry him down also. Stanton spoke nobly and generously. Well, does bro. George ask what was *done* as well as *said?* Something that will delight him! It was unanimously voted, that the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society should henceforth assume the responsibility of printing and editing[2] the *Liberator*, and that the abolitionism of the Commonwealth should be pledged to sustain it.[3] The paper, however, is *not* to be the organ of our Society, nor is anybody to control my pen. This arrangement will relieve friend Knapp and myself of a heavy burden, which has long

Samuel Norris. R. B. Hall. Alanson St. Clair. S. J. May. Henry B. Stanton. George W. Benson.

[1] Amasa Walker said that the success of the *Liberator* was identified with that of the cause. Even now the enemy was exultant because the *Liberator* was languishing for want of support. It ought to be adopted as the centre, the organ of the Society. "We do not all feel perfectly pleased with *all* Mr. Garrison says. Like Martin Luther, his language is rough and sometimes violent. But Mr. Birney has said, 'My anti-slavery trumpet would never have roused the country — Garrison alone could do it.'" The *Liberator*'s fault and merit was that "it is always a little ahead of public sentiment," — *i. e.*, ultra (*Lib.* 7:26).

[2] The context seems to show that this was a slip of the pen for "publishing." "The editorial responsibility rests, as heretofore, with Mr. Garrison" (Official circular, March 8, 1837).

[3] Our *sole reliance* is now on the *prompt action* of auxiliary and other societies" (Official circular).

crushed us to the earth. It is probable that we shall soon enlarge the paper."[1] CHAP. III. 1837.

Mr. May's tribute drove his friend from the room, and called for remarks in modest abnegation on his return. Further — *Lib.* 7:26.

"One word as to the *Liberator*. I have no desire that it should be supported any longer than it is regarded as a useful instrument in the anti-slavery cause. I ask no man to approve of every sentiment contained in its columns, or to patronize it, except on the ground of its advocacy of the rights of plundered millions. It is neither my aim nor expectation to please every individual subscriber to the *Liberator*, in every particular: such a coincidence, while men differ so widely in their tastes and notions on various subjects, is utterly impracticable. It must suffice that free discussion is its motto, and that those who are opposed to me in sentiment are always invited to occupy its pages. *Lib.* 7:26.

"There must not, there cannot be a spirit of competition between the *Liberator* and the publications of the American Society. But it will be seen at once that the *Liberator*, if left to depend upon its subscription-list alone, cannot maintain its ground whilst the *Emancipator*, for instance, sustained by the funds of the Parent Society, is issued on a much larger sheet, and afforded on the same terms. I do not wish the *Liberator* to be the organ either of this or any other Society, nor any body of men to be responsible for every sentiment it may promulgate; and I am quite sure that I shall not permit any persons to control my pen, or establish a censorship over my writings.

"As the Sabbath question has been alluded to, allow me to say, that it has not been the object of the *Liberator* to maintain my peculiar views on that subject. I have inserted in its columns many articles advocating, either directly or indirectly, the generally received opinions respecting the Sabbath; but none of my numerous subscribers among Friends has in consequence discontinued his subscription. In reviewing Dr. Beecher's speech, it was my object not only to convict him of gross inconsistency, but to enforce the truth that we are to be wholly consecrated to God at all times — to maintain a perpetual

[1] This enlargement was made with the tenth number (March 4, 1837). The size of the printed page now became about 16 x 23 inches. By midsummer the subscribers numbered some 3,000 (MS. June 14, 1837, W. L. G. to G. W. Benson).

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Sabbath — to observe every day as holy unto the Lord. It was no Jacobinism that I wished to advocate. But the leading, all-absorbing object of the *Liberator* shall continue to be, as it has been hitherto, the overthrow of American slavery — not to conflict with any religious sect or political party."

Before this seemingly happy settlement of the *Liberator's* continuance — this unlucky makeshift, as the event proved — and amid the depression caused in the Benson circle by their two-fold bereavement,[1] Mr. Garrison sat down to compose the fifth annual report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Not a trace of despondency was to be found in the opening sentence: "The tone which the Managers . . . would assume . . . is one of joyful hope to the manacled slaves — of sincere congratulation to the friends of human liberty, universally — of ardent gratitude to God." Yet these words were read in the loft of a stable, the only place obtainable by the Society for its meeting:

Report, p. 3.

Report, p. 6.

"Let the winds carry the tale to the four quarters of the earth — in Boston, in the year of our Lord, 1837, in the sixty-first year of American independence, not a single meeting-house, not a hall of any magnitude, can be obtained on any terms, — not even for money at an exorbitant price! — in which abolitionists may plead the cause of the trampled slave! But, it is believed, there is not a single pulpit in this city * to which a slaveholding preacher cannot find ready access, even for the avowed purpose of vindicating the soul-destroying system of slavery as a divine institution, from the Holy Scriptures! Nor is there, we presume, a public hall which cannot be occupied by jugglers, mountebanks, ballad-singers, rope-dancers, religious impostors, etc., etc., as they shall wish to hire."[2]

"* With one exception — Pine Street" [but even this congregation refused their house for the meeting].

[1] "I never knew a family which seemed to me to be bound together more closely in the bonds of brotherly and sisterly love than the Bensons, and it almost seems as if I could feel to my own heart's core the vibration of that string which has now been struck in theirs" (C. C. Burleigh to Edward M. Davis, after Henry Benson's death. MS. Jan. 23, 1837).

[2] The Free Church, which had a lease of Julien Hall for its own services, was turned out for having offered hospitality to the abolitionists (*Lib.* 7:19).

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The loft in question was that of the stable attached to the Marlboro' Hotel, and had been put at the Society's disposal by Willard Sears, the owner of the property. Before beginning his reading, Mr. Garrison said: *Lib.* 7:21. "There might be some fears on the part of the audience in regard to the security of the loft; but he assured them that the floor was well propped, and he felt gratified with the consciousness that Abolition, to-day as on every day, stands upon a *stable* foundation." But something better was in store for the outcasts from the churches—a marvellous sign of the spread of anti-slavery sentiment since the Boston mob. An application to the Legislature for the use of the hall of the House of Representatives, for an evening session, was granted without debate, though not without a nearly successful attempt to revoke the concession. "When *Lib.* 7:18. *Boston* votes," said Stanton in the hall itself, "the Anti-Slavery Society goes into A STABLE. When the *State* votes, it goes into THE STATE HOUSE." Mr. Garrison thus wrote, to Anna Benson, of these extraordinary occurrences:

"The annual meeting of our State Society was held last week in this city, and of course I was altogether too much engrossed with its concerns to indulge in correspondence. Bro. George, having been present at the first meeting in the stable-loft, has no doubt given you all the particulars; and such as he has not been able to detail, by his subsequent absence, you will find recorded at length in the last and in this week's *Liberator*. It will hardly be necessary to occupy this sheet on that subject. Suffice it to say, that we had five public meetings, four of them crowded to excess, without any disturbance, and that, in genuine abolition spirit and brotherly kindness, they exceeded all that have hitherto been held in Boston. You can form but a faint idea of the life and glow which pervaded them all, by reading the speeches as reported in to-day's *Liberator*. One needed to be present to realize all that transpired. The utmost kindness and cordiality were extended to me by all present, and every speaker was more or less profuse in his encomiums upon myself and the *Liberator*. Whenever my name was alluded to, a round of applause was sure to

MS. Feb. 4, 1837.

Jan. 25, 1837.

Lib. 7:19, 21.

Lib. 7:21.

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follow[1]—which clearly demonstrated, not so much that any merit belongs to me, as that the meeting was deeply and thoroughly saturated with 'Garrisonism.' Indeed, there was a great deal too much said in my praise. If I did not *know* that I have nailed my natural vanity and love of human praise to the cross of Christ, such things would be likely to puff me up. But, 'God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of Christ, by whom I am crucified unto the world, and the world unto me.' It cannot but cheer my heart to know that I have secured the approbation and love of the best people in the land, because it has naturally followed my advocacy of a righteous though unpopular cause;[2] but mere human applause is in itself no evidence of personal worth.

"At the State House, our meeting was thronged to excess. One of our daily papers estimates that not less than five thousand persons went away, being unable to obtain admittance! It was expected that our enemies would rally strongly on that occasion; but, as a test of the character and feelings of the audience, I will merely state that when Ellis Gray Loring, in the course of his speech, bestowed a strong panegyric upon my name,[3] a burst of applause followed from every part of the house. When

[1] "Tremendous applause" was given when an ex-slave, a native of Africa, after reciting some horrible tales from his experience, turned suddenly to Mr. Garrison with—"Dat man is de Moses raised up for our deliverance" (*Lib.* 7:22).

[2] "Par justice, il [M. le duc de la Vallière] m'a honoré d'une estime que j'ai méritée; car si l'amitié s'accorde, l'estime s'exige, et si l'une est un don, l'autre est une dette" (Beaumarchais, Memoirs).

[3] Mr. Loring had summarized the anti-slavery career of Clarkson, and then proceeded: "Posterity looks upon such men and deeds in a vastly different light from contemporaries. Five or six years ago, a poor and solitary individual of the working class came among us, with nothing to depend upon but his God and the native powers which God gave him. He raised the thrilling cry of immediate emancipation. His encouragement was at first small indeed. But the grand, the true, the vital idea of immediate freedom to the slave burned bright within him and supported him. He, too, at length, had his twelve associates, and the first Anti-Slavery Society was formed. From this small beginning, and owing mainly, I believe, under God, to the clear vision, the purity of character, the energy, and the intrepidity of that individual, our cause has advanced till it numbers 800 societies. An anti-slavery society has been formed in the United States every day for the last two years. There are 300 societies in the single State of Ohio, one of which numbers 4,000 members. Yet the individual who started this mighty movement, is rejected and scorned by the great and little vulgar of our day. No matter. Posterity will do justice to the name of William Lloyd Garrison" (*Lib.* 7:23).

it died away, a few hisses were heard in one of the galleries. These elicited another tremendous round of applause. Again a hiss was heard, and then followed another and still more powerful manifestation of enthusiastic approbation of my labors in the anti-slavery cause. I mention this fact to show how vain have been the attempts of my enemies to make me odious even among my abolition brethren." CHAP. III. 1837.

As every one present must have felt, the mere meeting at the State House was a personal triumph for Mr. Garrison, which eulogy and applause might emphasize, but which no amount of hissing could diminish. Nor had it yet reached its climax. A week before, the renewal in Congress of the presentation of petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District, chiefly through the untiring instrumentality of John Quincy Adams, had led the House of Representatives to pass a fresh resolution to suppress and discourage them.[1] "All petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way or to any extent whatever to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid on the table, and no further action whatever shall be had thereon." The submissiveness of the North to this outrage was confidently reckoned on by the perpetrators of it, both from the large majority secured for it, and from the precedent of the Pinckney gag of the previous session. They overlooked, however, three important factors—the tenacious character and parliamentary skill of Mr. Adams, the indomitable purpose and efficient machinery of the agitators, and the immense growth of the anti-slavery sentiment at large during the twelvemonth. Redoubling their efforts to send up petitions, the abolitionists at the same time appealed from the free States betrayed and misrepresented in Congress to the same States in their respective assemblies. On the 21st of March, Mr. Garri-

January 19, 1837.

Lib. 7:18.

5th Ann. Report Mass. A. S. Soc., p. 22.

Ante, p. 74.

Lib. 7:26.

Lib. 7:54.

[1] Moved by Hawes, of Kentucky. The Speaker ruled unexpectedly that the previous gag-rule expired with the session (5th Ann. Report Mass. A. S. Society, p. 22).

son listened in the lower house of the Massachusetts
Lib. 7:51. Legislature to the reading and almost unanimous adoption of a report emphatically upholding the right of petition (which had been virtually denied), especially "for the removal of a great social, moral and political evil"; denouncing the assumption of power in the obnoxious resolution as doing violence to the Constitution and to the inherent, absolute and inalienable rights of man; cordially approving the conduct of the State's representatives, and reaffirming the authority of Congress to abolish slavery in the District. The Massa-
Lib. 7:55, 59. chusetts Senate followed with even stronger resolutions.

MS. April 3, 1837. "We have had," writes Mr. Garrison to George W. Benson, "and are yet having, lively times in our Legislature on the subject of slavery. You will see, by the last *Liberator*, how the question has been carried — in one branch by a vote of 378 to 16,[1] in the other by a vote of 33 to none![2] in our favor, too! It is the most extraordinary change in political action, on a moral subject, in the annals of legislation. However, a strong effort is now making, by our enemies, to suppress all the resolutions upon the final vote for concurrence. It is not probable
Lib. 7:59. that they will succeed, but our majority will be reduced. No matter: the old Commonwealth of Massachusetts will do her duty in grand style, and pioneer the way for her sister States in the cause of emancipation. We shall secure this session, undoubtedly, the right of trial by jury to runaway slaves."[3]

After the middle of June, Mr. Garrison, for the better health of his family, removed again to Brooklyn, leaving
Lib. 7:99; *MS. June* 14, 1837. his friend Oliver Johnson as sub-editor in charge of the *Liberator*, but aiming to write regularly for the paper. Since the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society he had attended four others, to each of which a word must be given. One was the quarterly

[1] Including, among the nays, James L. Homer, of the *Commercial Gazette*.

[2] This vote was on a substitute for the final House resolution, and pressed Congress to the "early exercise" of its power over the District (*Lib.* 7:55).

[3] This significant measure passed both houses almost without dissent (*Lib.* 7:65–67). A similar law was enacted in New Jersey shortly afterward (*Lib.* 7:94), but was rejected in Pennsylvania (*Lib.* 7:11, 47).

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meeting of the same Society at Lynn, March 28, memorable for the maiden speech, in the anti-slavery cause, of Wendell Phillips,[1] who "charmed and surprised the audience," and signalized his complete adhesion to the movement and his abandonment of legitimate worldly ambition by urging a resolution, which would be heard from again,—"That, having a great work to do, and but comparatively feeble means wherewith to do it, our influence and effort should be devoted mainly to the cause of abolition." From his speech on this subject of "special consecration" let us take a passage, prophetic in its aspiration, and noteworthy as the tribute of an eye-witness of the Boston mob to its victim:

Lib. 7:55, 62.

Lib. 7:62.

"We would have ourselves the joy of seeing this work accomplished. Before our eyes close, we wish to see the happy day which shall proclaim liberty to the captive. If it be possible, let the shout of emancipated millions rise, before his ear is dust whose voice first waked the trumpet-note which is

Lib. 7:63.

[1] Son of John Phillips, the first mayor of Boston; a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1831. He had studied law, as has been already noticed (*ante*, 1:453), and been admitted to the Suffolk bar. His high social position, his profession, his fascinating person, his extraordinary oratorical gifts, made any career he might have chosen practicable for him. His sacrifice in renouncing public honors and advancement has hardly any parallel in the history of the cause. The poet Lowell has thus embalmed it:

"He stood upon the world's broad threshold: wide
The din of battle and of slaughter rose;
He saw God stand upon the weaker side,
That sank in seeming loss before its foes;
Many there were who made great haste and sold
Unto the cunning enemy their swords.
He scorned their gifts of fame, and power, and gold,
And, underneath their soft and flowery words,
Heard the cold serpent hiss; therefore he went
And humbly joined him to the weaker part,
Fanatic named, and fool, yet well content
So he could be the nearer to God's heart,
And feel its solemn pulses sending blood
Through all the wide-spread veins of endless good."

See also the tribute of the Board of Managers of the Mass. A. S. Society, evidently from Mr. Garrison's pen, in *Lib.* 9:95, on the eve of Mr. Phillips's departure for Europe.

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rocking the nation from side to side. To him (need I name him?) with at least equal truth may be applied the language of Burke to Fox: 'It will be a distinction honorable to the age, that the rescue of the greatest number of the human race from the greatest tyranny that was ever exercised, has fallen to the lot of one with abilities and dispositions equal to the task; — that it has fallen to the lot of one who has the enlargement to comprehend, the spirit to undertake, and the eloquence to support so great a measure of hazardous benevolence.'"

Speech on Mr. Fox's East India Bill, Dec. 1, 1783.

At the anniversary meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Mr. Garrison was put upon a committee with Whittier and Stanton and the Rev. Orange Scott, to consider a resolution of Whittier's on political action. He reported for himself and colleagues a resolution, which was adopted, that abolitionists ought neither to organize a distinct political party, nor attach themselves as abolitionists to any existing party, yet were "solemnly bound, by the principles of our civil and religious institutions, to refuse to support any man for office who will not sustain the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of petition, and the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia and the Territories; and who will not oppose the introduction of any new slave State into the Union." On his own behalf, Mr. Garrison introduced resolutions directed against the annexation of Texas, which he declared the main topic for anti-slavery agents in their discourses, and the urgent motive for active petitioning to Congress and persuasion of Congressmen, and against which the duty of a general remonstrance belonged especially to the clergy and to religious bodies. These, too, received the Society's endorsement, as did resolutions offered by George Bourne in censure of prominent ecclesiastical palliations or bold defences of slaveholding during the past year. Such, for example, was the popish action of the Congregational General Association of Connecticut (at Norfolk, Litchfield County) in June, 1836, under the lead of Leonard Bacon, in opposition to the practice of

Lib. 7:90.

Lib. 7:90.

4th Ann. Report Am. A. S. Soc.; Lib. 7:89.

itinerant agents enlightening the members of churches "without the advice and consent of the pastors and regular ecclesiastical bodies."

Mr. Garrison's part at the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Convention held at the same time with the American anniversary, and presided over by Mary Parker, was necessarily that of a spectator. But, among the seventy-one delegates, he renewed his acquaintance with the Grimké sisters, who had of right entered themselves as from South Carolina, rather than from their present home in Philadelphia. Before the year ended he was to meet them again, under circumstances of the greatest importance to himself and to the cause.

Lib. 7:79, 90, 98; *Right and Wrong*, 1837, *p.* 32.

At the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in June, which was studiously excluded from every church in Boston save three — the Methodist Church in Church Street, the Congregational in Salem Street, and (for a marvel) the Park-Street Church (Congregational) — the relation of the clergy to the anti-slavery movement was naturally foremost among the topics for discussion. Little opposition was shown to resolutions demanding the purification of the churches, by denying membership to slaveholders, by abolition prayers and preaching, and by "coming out" from churches which were hopelessly given over to pro-slavery influences. William Goodell repeated the New York protest against the Connecticut attempt to consign to pastors the right to designate the amount and character of religious instruction to be imparted to their people — "a prerogative comprising in essence one of the most despotic powers claimed by the slave-master over the slave." The unanimity of these proceedings, and their harmony with the whole course of Mr. Garrison and his associates with reference to a pro-slavery church and ministry, portended nothing of the sectarian conspiracy against the editor of the *Liberator* which was shortly to interrupt his well-earned summer repose.

Lib. 7:86.

Lib. 7:91.

Lib. 7:91.

It would be unjust to say that the signal for this was given by Dr. Channing, for it proceeded from a very

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different camp. Nevertheless, in the early days of January, 1837, while the fate of the *Liberator* hung trembling in the balance, that clergyman issued a pamphlet letter to J. G. Birney, written in the previous November on occasion of the destruction of the *Philanthropist*, in which he virtually singled out the elder paper for condemnation. His language, it is true, was general, and applied to the abolitionists "in the main": "Their writings have been blemished by a spirit of intolerance, sweeping censure, and rash, injurious judgment." But when he expressly made an "honorable exception" of the *Philanthropist*,[1] and of other publications within his knowledge, any one could read Garrison and the *Liberator* between the lines. And yet this letter was ostensibly, and primarily in its author's intent, a vindication of abolitionists against persecution; an act of personal gratitude for their sufferings in defence of the liberty of thought, speech, and of the press; an explicit endorsement of their eminent blamelessness of character, and disposition "to adopt a rigid construction of the Christian precepts." It first appeared in the *Philanthropist*, from which it was copied into the *Liberator*, with the editor's customary tolerance for the views of critics and opponents, and with the editorial comment: "A million letters like this would never emancipate a single slave, but rather rivet his fetters more strongly." When the letter took the shape of a pamphlet, it was furnished with an appendix, embracing fresh censure of the aboli-

Ante, p. 98.

Lib. 7:1.

Lib. 7:3.

Lib. 7:11.

[1] Birney disclaimed the compliment. "Our country was asleep, whilst slavery was preparing to pour its 'leprous distilment' into her ears. So deep was becoming her sleep that nothing but a rude and almost ruffian-like shake could rouse her to a contemplation of her danger. If she is saved, it is because she has been thus treated" (*Lib.* 7:2). But Channing took the professional clerical view of the matter, as was shown two years later by an eminent Congregational clergyman, the Rev. Horace Bushnell, of Hartford, in a discourse on slavery. "The first movement here at the North," said he, "was a rank onset and explosion. . . . The first sin of this organization was a sin of ill-manners. They did not go to work like Christian gentlemen. . . . The great convention which met at Philadelphia, drew up a declaration of their sentiments . . . by which they wilfully and boorishly cast off the whole South from them" (*Lib.* 9:29).

tionists on account of their political activity, and the Doctor's old complaint because of their organization, intensified in view of their gathering numbers and strength. "It is one of the evils attending associations," he said pointedly, "and an argument against them, that, by growing popular, they attract to themselves unworthy members, lose their original simplicity of purpose, become aspiring, and fall more and more under the control of popular leaders." *Lib.* 7: 13.

It will appear later how far these strictures owed their weight and significance to their clerical rather than to their personal origin. The next assaults on the agitation and its leader were, though equally impersonal at first, distinctly clerical and sectarian. The Pastoral Letter of the General Association of Massachusetts to the Orthodox Congregational churches under its care was issued about the middle of July.[1] It had two distinct aims—one, to complete the sealing of the churches against anti-slavery lecturers; the other, to draw off their communicants, both male and female, from the public lectures of the Grimké sisters, who, during the month of June, had excited unprecedented interest in Eastern Massachusetts by their eloquent appeals (generally in churches) on behalf of the slave. Historically, this document marks the transition from the general political use of the New England meeting-house, since the days when "the church and the organized town consisted of the same persons," to its special use and estimation as a sanctuary; or, in other words, from the Puritan theocratic form of government to the separation of church and state. Moreover, it was, in connection with Miss Catherine Beecher's newly published 'Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism, with reference to the duty of American Females, addressed to Miss A. *Lib.* 7: 129. *New Englander*, May, 1883, *p.* 332.

[1] The Association met at Brookfield, June 27, 1837 ('Right and Wrong in Boston,' 1837, p. 45). The author of the Pastoral Letter was the Rev. Nehemiah Adams, of Boston, whose apologetic work, 'A Southside View of Slavery' (1854), afterwards earned for him the sobriquet of "Southside Adams."

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E. Grimké,'[1] the *beginning* of the woman's rights agitation in America. The equality of the sexes in Christian duty had, indeed, been implied and asserted by the female anti-slavery organizations, particularly by the Boston Society, against those who charged them with quitting their sphere. It was now, however, to become a burning and dividing question for the abolitionists themselves as well as for the country at large.

Right and Wrong in Boston, 1836, (1) *pp.* 6, 47, *et seq.*

The Pastoral Letter, as it may still be read in the "Refuge of Oppression" of the *Liberator* of August 11, 1837, asserts, without naming either slavery or "Carolina's high-souled daughters," that "the perplexed and agitating subjects which are now common amongst us . . . should not be forced upon any church as matters for debate, at the hazard of alienation and division." There is, it continues, a perceptible loss of deference to the pastoral office; a "zeal to violate the principles and rules of Christian intercourse, to interfere with the proper pastoral influence, and to make the church, into

Lib. 7:129.

[1] Angelina Grimké's able and admirable reply to Miss Beecher was published in thirteen successive letters in the *Liberator* (7:102, 106, 111, 119, 122, 126, 130, 139, 147, 155, 159, 167, 179), and afterwards in pamphlet form. The eleventh is mainly concerned with the "woman question." Sarah Grimké continued the discussion in a series of letters, on the province of woman, addressed to Mary S. Parker, and intended for publication in the *New England Spectator* (*Lib.* 8:4, 8, 12, 16, 20, 24, 28). In a letter to H. C. Wright, from Groton, Mass., Aug. 12, 1837, Sarah says: "The Lord . . . has very unexpectedly made us the means of bringing up the discussion of the question of woman's preaching, and all we have to do is to do our duty. . . . I cannot consent to make my Quakerism an excuse for my exercising the rights and performing the duties of a rational and responsible being. . . . All I claim is as woman, and for any woman whom God qualifies and commands to preach his blessed gospel. I claim the Bible, not Quakerism, as my sanction, and I wish this fully understood. . . . Brother Amos A. Phelps wrote us a long, kind, admonitory letter, recommending our desisting from our present course, and confining our labors to our own sex; proposing several plans by which this might be effected, or the responsibility of holding public meetings for men and women not rest on us; but we wrote him word that we could not consent to adopt any other course than that which seemed clearly to be our duty, and advised him to *examine the subject, and not identify himself with the authors of the Pastoral Letter.*" On Aug. 27, she writes to the same that, after a personal interview, Phelps had given up the idea of publishing a protest against the sisters. For the correspondence between them, see *Lib.* 11:[34].

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which we flee from a troubled world for peace, a scene of 'doubtful disputations.'" The zealots are accordingly cautioned "not to disturb the influence of those ministers who think that the promotion of personal religion amongst their people, and the establishment of Christians in the faith and comfort of the gospel, is the proper object of their ministry." There is a default of deference to the pastoral office when you encourage "lecturers or preachers on certain topics of reform to present their subjects within the parochial limits of settled pastors without their consent. . . . If there are certain topics upon which he [the pastor] does not preach with the frequency or in the manner that would please *you*, it is a violation of sacred and important rights to encourage a stranger to present them." Attention is also directed to dangers now seeming "to threaten the female character with widespread and permanent injury." The New Testament clearly defines "the appropriate duties and influence of women." "The power of woman is in her dependence. . . . When she assumes the place and tone of man as a public reformer, our care and protection of her seem unnecessary; we put ourselves in self-defence against her, she yields the power which God has given her for protection, and her character becomes unnatural"—the vine usurps the rôle of the elm. Their conduct is sadly mistaken "who encourage females to bear an obtrusive and ostentatious part in measures of reform, and countenance any of that sex who so far forget themselves as to itinerate in the character of public lecturers and teachers."

Like its forerunner in Connecticut, the Massachusetts Pastoral Letter arrogated to the clergy individually the sole right of presenting moral topics to their parishioners: in this field each must have no coadjutor not of his own choosing, and no rival.[1] In a word, if the

Ante, p. 130.

[1] "Many years ago," wrote the Rev. Nathan Lord, President of Dartmouth College, on May 30, 1839, "I studied the history of primitive Christianity in connection with that of 'the Reformation,' and particularly of

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anti-slavery reform could not work through clerical (Orthodox) channels and under clerical (Orthodox) censorship, it was irreligious and ungodly.

Right and Wrong, 1837, *pp.* 50-57.

The new bull would, in spite of the sermons by which it was immediately enforced, in all probability have fallen flat — such was the anti-slavery leaven in the churches — but for its speedy bolstering by an "Appeal of Clerical Abolitionists on Anti-slavery Measures," published in the *New England Spectator* of August 2, and bearing the signatures of five clergymen, viz., Charles Fitch, Boston; David Sanford, Dorchester; Wm. M. Cornell, Quincy; Jonas Perkins, Weymouth; and Joseph H. Towne, Boston. The first and last alone were known for their anti-slavery connection; and, in the discussion

Lib. 7:134.

to which the Appeal instantly gave rise, they had no further support from their co-signataries. The authorship of the document was divided between them. Fitch was the pastor of the First Free Congregational Church, whose organization against clerical repression and in the

Ante, 1:481.

interest of close anti-slavery communion has been already mentioned. He was the author of a recent

Lib. 7:80.

pamphlet, 'Slaveholding Weighed in the Balance of Truth,' and had in his speeches at anti-slavery meetings

Lib. 7:133; 8:10.

been remarkable for his "hard language," out-Garrisoning Garrison. Towne was the pastor of the Salem-Street Congregational Church, succeeding the Rev. George W.

Ante, *p.* 105.

Blagden, the chief opponent of the Free Church in the Congregational council which recognized it; and *his*

Lib. 7:133.

distinction had been the holding of a brief anti-slavery

the English Puritans, in reference to the question of civil and religious liberty. Since that time I have not believed that Pastors and Ecclesiastical bodies are the only proper conservators of the public welfare in respect to religion and morals, nor that they have rights, immunities, duties, and discretion with which a stranger may not intermeddle, in reference to all matters and influences affecting the public sentiment in these particulars. . . . That Pastors and Ecclesiastical bodies may set up a claim so general and imperative as some even in New England have done, . . . I cannot regard but as an unwarranted and dangerous usurpation. It is virtually the assertion of a principle belonging only to the times of the Sanhedrim, or of the Star Chamber and High Commission" (*Lib.* 9:117).

agency in Essex County, prior to which, as the pastor of a church in Amesbury, he too had used noticeably strong language on the guilt of slavery, and had advised favoring the anti-slavery charity as both the most needy and the most important. These gentlemen, now feeling the weight of the cause to be somehow resting on their shoulders, came forward, in the name of "nine-tenths" of the abolitionists, to unfold their budget of complaints against Mr. Garrison and the *Liberator*. Uniform precedents might have assured them of ready access to the columns of that paper, but, for reasons that quickly came to light, they chose the *Spectator* for their medium. With a like want of directness, though the plot had been some time in hatching, its development was deferred till Mr. Garrison was out of dangerous proximity; and the first flaws that were picked were in the editorial conduct of his substitute, Oliver Johnson, whose articles were always signed with his initial.

CHAP. III. 1837. *Lib.* 7: 151.

The Clerical Appeal was of course at once transferred to its legitimate place in the *Liberator*. Its grievances were (1) the "hasty, unsparing, almost ferocious denunciation" [in the *Liberator*] of a minister from the South who had been preaching in Boston, on the ground of his being a slaveholder—a charge believed by the appellants to be not true. (2) Insinuations [in the *Liberator*] that the Rev. Dr. Blagden was a slaveholder—meaning Mr. Johnson's repeated inquiry whether that was true which was currently reported of that gentleman, who paid no attention to the "insinuation." (3) The *Liberator's* "demand" that ministers should read anti-slavery notices handed them to read, whereas they had a right to suppress them, and anti-slavery clergymen exchanging with them should in deference likewise suppress these notices. (4) The diverting of support from home and foreign missions and other church efforts to the anti-slavery cause [in the spirit of Wendell Phillips's Lynn resolution, which had been seconded by Mr. Johnson in the *Liberator*]. (5) The abuse of gospel ministers and excellent Chris-

Lib. 7: 130.

Ante, p. 129.

CHAP. III. 1837. tians not ready to unite with anti-slavery societies — an injustice to individuals and a great hindrance to our work, said the appellants. Its effect was "to prevent many worthy men from appearing in favor of immediate emancipation. *We know this to be a fact.* . . . They suppose that the great body of abolitionists approve of these things, *because* they suffer them in silence." Unless a change took place, some already in the cause would have to abandon it in despair, "and weep in secret places."

Lib. 7:131. Mr. Johnson promptly made a brief reply, in the course of which he quoted a notorious passage from the Southern clergyman's[1] recent speech in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: "My presbytery will never, no never, give up their right to hold slaves to this Assembly, nor to any other assembly than the 'General Assembly of the First-born in Heaven.'"[2] At far greater length, Amos A. Phelps, the new General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,[3] re-

Lib. 7:134. viewed the Appeal in the next number of the *Liberator*, his eight columns being preceded by as many from the pen of Mr. Garrison himself. The latter wrote in great haste, from a house which had been like a hospital for a fortnight, and in which he was perhaps the most debilitated, from his old scrofulous trouble. But his heart was light for the encounter:

MS. Aug. 9, 1837. "What is in the wind now?" he writes to Knapp from Brooklyn. "Only think of a public 'clerical' admonition!

[1] The Rev. Elipha White, a native of Massachusetts (*Lib.* 7:147). For the *Spectator's* handling of this clerical "man-thief" in its issue of July 26, 1837 — just *one week* before it printed the Appeal — see *Lib.* 8:9.

[2] Compare his action at the Charleston (S. C.) Union Presbytery in the spring of 1838 (*Lib.* 8:74).

[3] June 14, 1837, Mr. Garrison writes from Boston to G. W. Benson: "We have been very fortunate in securing the services of bro. Phelps as our General Agent. He is expected in Boston on Saturday [June 17], to commence his labors in good earnest" (MS.— *Lib.* 7:95; 'Right and Wrong in Boston,' 1837, p. 25). Mr. Phelps's orthodoxy was regarded as an especial qualification, since the Unitarianism of Mr. May, lately the Corresponding Secretary of the Mass. A. S. Society, and of other leading Boston abolitionists (*e. g.*, Mr. Sewall, Mr. Loring, Mr. Jackson, etc.), had been an unconcealed pretext for the hostility of the Orthodox hierarchy.

Do not ecclesiastical terrors take hold of you, as publisher of the *Liberator*? Have you done penance and obtained absolution? For my own part I am growing more and more irreverent, and must be given over as incorrigible. Surely you must be a pugnacious man to employ such an Ishmaelitish editor. 'Woe is me, my mother! for I was born a man of strife.' What latent feelings, think you, have stirred up Messrs. Fitch and Towne to make such a strange 'Appeal'? Tell me whether there is not some sectarian ill-will, some 'clerical' apprehension, at the bottom of this movement. You are very good, as a Yankee, in guessing — but perhaps the facts in the case are too palpable to need a single surmise. My review of the 'Appeal' will probably ensure you the loss of a few subscribers, and perhaps add a few more to your list." CHAP. III. 1837.

In this review Mr. Garrison took to himself the attack really levelled at the temporary editor of the *Liberator*, whose conduct of the paper in his absence he now explicitly endorsed. The selection of another medium than the *Liberator* for the publication of the Appeal, he regarded as "an impeachment far more offensive than the Appeal itself." As for that document, it would be welcomed by the Tracys, by Leonard Bacon, Asa Cummings, and Wilbur Fisk,[1] and by the religious (Congregational) press generally, for it was their thunder. It consisted of the commonest and most flippant objections to the cause. So far as related to its defence of the two "slandered" pro-slavery clergymen, neither had complained nor could complain, and the defence of them was laughable. The defamation, such as it was, was valid only among abolitionists. Fitch, during his pastorate in Hartford, had been dumb on the subject of slavery, and only flamed out when called to the Free Church in Boston. In his work already cited, he had pronounced slavery worse than infidelity, popery, intemperance, theft, murder, fornication, treason; had *Lib.* 7: 133.

Ante, p. 136.

[1] President of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., a conspicuous clerical apologist for slavery, an aggressive Colonizationist, and one of the most abusive and malignant opponents of George Thompson (*Lib.* 5: 45, 66, 77; 7: 95).

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abounded in exhortations to pulpit and minister, and in denunciations of clerical apology for slaveholding; had denied that the language of abolitionists was excessively harsh. As he and his colleague Towne did not wish to be longer identified with the holders of views like these, Mr. Garrison proceeded to read them out of the anti-slavery ranks.

Coming to the main question (for the other matters were mere fetches), he asserted that ministers of the gospel were not necessarily "excellent Christians." "Christianity indignantly rejects the sanctimonious pretensions of the great mass of the clergy in our land. It is becoming more and more apparent that they are nothing better than hirelings, in the bad sense of that term — that they are blind leaders of the blind, dumb dogs that cannot bark, spiritual popes — that they love the fleece better than the flock — that they are mighty hindrances to the march of human freedom, and to the enfranchisement of the souls of men." To this there were, of course, many splendid exceptions, and he had never denounced any man or minister merely because he was not connected with the anti-slavery cause, but solely as a defender of slavery — on republican and Biblical grounds. "*Clerical* abolitionists" were unknown to abolitionism, which was a terrible leveller of distinctions.

Lib. 7: 150.

The movement to crush out Garrisonism, as Orson S. Murray correctly defined it in his Vermont *Telegraph* — adding that to this end much greater strength was being put forth than to crush slavery — met with the anticipated encouragement in sectarian quarters. The *Christian Mirror* said: "We know not how Mr. Garrison will stand this rebuke. Heretofore, the moment any one, even a real friend, has put a foot out of the traces, he has turned the butt of his whip and laid on his blows most unmercifully." But the spell was now broken.

Lib. 7: 141, 142.

The *Vermont Chronicle*, the New York *Evangelist* and *Observer*, all hailed with rejoicing the "revolution" in the anti-slavery ranks, and looked to the sloughing off

of the leaders complained of, or to the formation of a new organization for "affectionate, Christian remonstrance,"—in the manner of the defunct American Union. Meantime, before Messrs. Fitch and Towne were ready with their rejoinder to the triple assault upon their position, another Appeal was issued, by abolitionists of the Andover Theological Seminary, bearing date of August 3 (ostensibly a hasty, instant endorsement of the parent Appeal, and, like it, first published in the *Spectator*). This, too, affected to speak in behalf of the great body of New England abolitionists, though many of the thirty-nine signers had suddenly joined the Society *ad hoc*. Its impeachment, however, was broader. It grieved over damaging remarks on the gospel ministry; over statements prejudicial to the American Board of Foreign Missions; over "speculations which lead inevitably to disorganization and anarchy, unsettling the domestic economy, removing the landmarks of society, and unhinging the machinery of government"; over the loading of the cause with "foreign and repulsive associations"; over resolutions prescribing the conditions of church membership; over public lectures by females, albeit Quakers; over certain discourses to children—meaning those by Henry C. Wright, the "children's agent," etc. These vague complaints would be made clearer presently.

Lib. 7:139.

The *Spectator* next printed a letter received by Messrs. Fitch and Towne, while waiting for just such indications of clerical and sectarian sentiment to warrant their second proceeding. The Rev. James T. Woodbury, of Acton, Mass.[1] (who, as amusingly happened, had been prominent in making the statements prejudicial to the American Board—namely, proving that it held slaves at the South—which so shocked the Seminary

Lib. 7:81.

[1] Brother of Levi Woodbury, the then Secretary of the Treasury, whose political standing being compromised by the clergyman's activity some took to be the cause of the latter's change of front (*Lib.* 7:175). Prior to this change he had been conspicuously severe upon the pro-slavery clergy (*Lib.* 8:10).

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appellants), wrote, on August 17, that he had been much pleased with the general tone of the Appeal, and continued:

Lib. 7:141.

"I am an abolitionist, and I am so in the strictest sense of the term; but I never swallowed Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and I never tried to swallow him. . . . I have seen, as I think, in Mr. Garrison, a decided wish, nay, a firm resolve, in laboring to overthrow slavery, to overthrow the Christian Sabbath and the Christian ministry. His doctrine is, that every day is a Sabbath, and every man his own minister. There are no Christian ordinances, there is no visible church. Here I would add also the notion of his, that the people have no right under God to frame a government of laws to protect themselves against those who would injure them, and that man can apply physical force to man rightfully under no circumstances, and not even the parent can apply the rod to the child, and not be, in the sight of God, a trespasser and a tyrant."

Mr. Woodbury had thought this incidental and inadvertent, but was now "well satisfied that, with the cause of abolition, *he* [Mr. Garrison] *is determined to carry forward and propagate and enforce his peculiar theology.* . . . Slavery is not merely to be abolished, but nearly everything else." With such associates he could not act, any more than with infidels, like Fanny Wright[1] and Abner Kneeland,[2] should they declare for abolition. He was "willing to act with all those who hold to the fundamentals of Christianity." "Good men say, We are aboli-

[1] A remarkable woman, born in Scotland Sept. 6, 1795; died (Mme. Darusmont) in Cincinnati Dec. 14, 1852. Her attempted community in Shelby Co., Tenn., in 1825, was a notable early anti-slavery enterprise. She was an eloquent public lecturer, and as such often mobbed for her political and religious doctrines (*Lib.* 8:173), a socialistic co-worker with Robert Owen, and a co-editor with Robert Dale Owen of the N. Y. *Free Inquirer* (see Noyes's 'American Socialisms,' chap. 7; 'Life of Charles Follen,' p. 471; and biographies by John Windt and Amos Gilbert).

[2] An orthodox clergyman of Massachusetts, who became a rationalist by way of Universalism. In 1832 he founded the Boston *Investigator*. His trial and imprisonment for "blasphemy" in 1834–1838 are famous in the history of church and state in this country — "a disgrace to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and a proof of the corruption of modern Christianity," Mr. Garrison termed it (*Lib.* 8:107). Kneeland was born in 1774, and died in 1844.

tionists, and would go with you most heartily if your lecturers and writers did not attack the Sabbath, and the Christian ministry and the churches, and all civil and family government. . . . We are not willing, for the sake of killing the rats, to burn down the house with all it contains." Mr. Woodbury would not therefore desert the cause of abolition: "No, never. But desert Mr. Garrison I would, if I ever followed him. But I never did. I once tried to like his paper — took it one year and paid for it, and stopped it because that, though it did well on abolition on one page, it would say something on the other to injure it, which something, too, did not concern the point of abolishing slavery." Alluding to a talk on family government between H. C. Wright and the Grimkés that had appeared in the *Liberator*, Mr. Woodbury declared: "I had as soon my son should be taught that the Bible is not true, as that I have not the right, under God, to chastise him; for he now understands that if done it is done by the direct sanction of the Almighty." Finally, in a postscript, the appellants were admonished — "No doubt, if you break with Garrison, some will say, 'You are no abolitionists,' — for, with some, Garrison is the god of their idolatry. He embodies abolition. He is abolition personified and incarnate."

Lib. 7: 118.

At this point our narrative must, for the proper understanding of what succeeds, be interrupted for a retrospect. We have already seen that in the Thanksgiving season immediately following the Boston mob, Mr. Garrison's thoughts, so far from being driven in and concentrated upon the one abolition reform, were taking a wider range, among subjects "upon which much light remains to be thrown, and which are of the utmost importance to the temporal and eternal welfare of man." In this he was but sharing the spirit of the age — a spirit of almost universal ferment, which perhaps exhibited its greatest activity and its greatest moderation in Massachusetts. As Mr. Frothingham well says, in his

Ante, *p.* 52.

P. 125. 'Life of Theodore Parker,' "all institutions and all ideas went into the furnace of reason, and were tried by fire. Church and state were put to the proof, and the wood, hay, stubble—everything combustible—were consumed."

Goodell's Slavery and Anti-Slavery, p. 387. The beginning of this period may be sought as far back as 1825,[1] in the millennial ardor of the missionary, tract, and Bible societies for evangelizing the world, the kindred labors and hopes of the peace and temperance societies, the "revivals of religion"—more particularly

Noyes's American Socialisms, p. 614. the great so-called Finney revival of 1831, coincident with the founding of the *Liberator*. This religious awakening took an especial hold on John Humphrey Noyes, a native of Brattleboro', Vermont, who was six years Mr. Garrison's junior. In February, 1834, it had

Ibid., p. 615. "landed him in a new experience and new views of the way of salvation, which took the name of Perfectionism"—a doctrine at first socialistic neither in form nor in theory. In the spring of 1837,[2] he called at the Anti-Slavery Office in Boston, and "found Garrison, Stanton, Whittier, and other leading abolitionists warmly engaged in a dispute about political matters." "I heard

Am. Socialist, June 12, 1879. them quietly," he continues, "and when the meeting broke up I introduced myself to Garrison. He spoke with interest of the *Perfectionist* [a monthly paper, pub-

[1] R. W. Emerson refers this "era of activity," this schism between "the party of the Past and the party of the Future: the Establishment and the Movement," to 1820 and the twenty years following. "It seemed a war between intellect and affection: a crack in nature which split every church in Christendom into Papal and Protestant, Calvinism into Old and New schools, Quakerism into Old and New; brought new divisions in politics, as the new conscience touched temperance and slavery. The key to the period appeared to be that the mind had become aware of itself. Men grew reflective and intellectual. There was a new consciousness" (*Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1883, p. 529; and see the whole of this acute observer's "Lecture on the Times," Dec. 2, 1841). There was a corresponding activity in England, manifested in the Reform Bill of 1832, the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, the Tractarian movement, Catholic Emancipation, and a hundred other ways.

[2] March 30, by Noyes's own account in the *American Socialist*, June 12, 1879; but pretty certainly either March 20 or an earlier date. See the date of the letter presently to be quoted, which was received early in April (*Lib.* 7:123).

lished at New Haven by J. H. N. and others];[1] said his mind was heaving on the subject of Holiness and the Kingdom of Heaven, and he would devote himself to them as soon as he could get anti-slavery off his hands. I spoke to him especially on the subject of government, and found him, as I expected, ripe for the loyalty of heaven." "A few days after this interview," he sent Mr. Garrison the following letter, which made a profound impression on the recipient: CHAP. III. 1837.

John Humphrey Noyes to W. L. Garrison.

NEWARK, N. J., March 22, 1837. *Lib.* 7:166; *Am. Socialist, June* 12, 1879.

DEAR BR. GARRISON: In addressing you, I use the liberty which ought to exist between every member of a race which God made of one blood. Moreover, the fact that I was once most heartily engaged in the cause you advocate, and am now separated from it only by devotion to a kindred object, entitles me to call you brother, with peculiar emphasis. When I saw you in Boston, we spoke of the kingdom of God, in its relations to the kingdoms of this world. I rejoiced to find in you a fellowship of views and feelings on this subject which has long been a rarity to me. I proposed to show you a written declaration of my principles, but was prevented. I write now to fulfil that proposal.

I am willing that all men should know that I have subscribed my name to an instrument similar to the Declaration of '76, renouncing all allegiance to the government of the United States, and asserting the title of Jesus Christ to the throne of the world. . . .

When I wish to form a conception of the government of the United States (using a personified representation), I picture to myself a bloated, swaggering libertine, trampling on the Bible —its own Constitution—its treaties with the Indians — the petitions of its citizens: with one hand whipping a negro tied to a liberty-pole, and with the other dashing an emaciated Indian to the ground. On one side stand the despots of

[1] The first number bears date of Aug. 20, 1834. Probable evidence of acquaintance with the paper on Mr. Garrison's part as early as the fall of 1836 has been given above (p. 114), and it is not impossible that a file of it was in his hands a year earlier, or that he had read the *Perfectionist* regularly from the commencement.

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Europe, laughing and mocking at the boasted liberty of their neighbor; on the other stands the Devil, saying, "Esto perpetua." In view of such a representation, the question urges itself upon me—"What have I, as a Christian, to do with such a villain?" I live on the territory which he claims—under the protection, to some extent, of the laws which he promulgates. Must I therefore profess to be his friend? God forbid! I will rather flee my country. But every other country is under the same reprobate authority. I must, then, either go out of the world, or find some way to live where I am, without being a hypocrite or a partaker in the sins of the nation. I grant that "the powers that be are ordained of God," and this is not less true of individual than of national slaveholders. I am hereby justified in remaining a slave—but not in remaining a slaveholder. Every person who is, in the usual sense of the expression, a citizen of the United States, *i.e.*, a voter, politician, etc., is at once a slave and a slaveholder—in other words, a subject and a ruler in a slaveholding government. God will justify me in the one character, but not in the other. I must therefore separate them and renounce the last. Holding simply the station of a subject, as a Christian I may respect the powers that be, for the Lord's sake, but I cannot make myself a partaker of their ungodly deeds by mingling in their counsels or assisting their operations. "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful."

Thus I find a way to "cease to do evil"—now I would "learn to do well." I have renounced active co-operation with the oppressor on whose territories I live; now I would find a way to put an end to his oppression. But he is manifestly a reprobate: reproof and instruction only aggravate his sins. I cannot attempt to reform him, because I am forbidden to "cast pearls before swine." I must therefore either consent to remain a slave till God removes the tyrant, or I must commence war upon him, by a declaration of independence and other weapons suitable to the character of a son of God. I have chosen the latter course for the following reasons:

1. As a believer in the Bible I know that the territory of the United States belongs to God, and is promised, together with the dominion under the whole heaven, to Jesus Christ and his followers.

2. I therefore know that the charter of every government now existing is limited by the will and prediction of him who ordained it; and every nation that expects or hopes for per-

petual existence outside of Christ's kingdom is thereby proved guilty of infidelity. CHAP. III. 1837.

3. By the same authority I know that the nations are to be dashed in pieces before the Kingdom of God can come and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven. The present governments stand in the way of God's kingdom, just as Colonization once stood in the way of Abolition. They occupy the ground, without effecting the object.

4. I regard the existing governments as bearing the same relation to a dispensation that is to come, as that which the Jewish dispensation bore to the Christian — that is, they are preparatory forms of discipline, fitted to the childhood of the race — "shadows of good things to come," which are to be taken away when the substance appears.

5. By the foregoing considerations I am authorized not only to hope for the overthrow of the nations, but to stand in readiness actively to assist in the execution of God's purposes. . . .

6. The Son of God has manifestly, to me, chosen this country for the theatre of such an assault — a country which, by its boasting hypocrisy, has become the laughing-stock of the world, and by its lawlessness has fully proved the incapacity of man for self-government. *My hope of the millennium begins where Dr. Beecher's expires* — viz., AT THE OVERTHROW OF THIS NATION.

7. The signs of the times clearly indicate the purpose of God to do his strange work speedily. The country is ripe for a convulsion like that of France; rather, I should say, for the French Revolution reversed. Infidelity roused the whirlwind in France. The Bible, by anti-slavery and other similar movements, is doing the same work in this country. So, in the end, Jesus Christ, instead of a bloodthirsty Napoleon, will ascend the throne of the world. The convulsion which is coming will be, not the struggle of death, but the travail of childbirth — the birth of a ransomed world.

I have stated to you only in the letter the principal things which God has urged upon me by his Spirit, and by which he has moved me to nominate Jesus Christ for the Presidency, not only of the United States, but of the world. Is it not high time for abolitionists to abandon a government whose President has declared war upon them? I cannot but think that many of them hear the same great voice out of heaven which has waked me, saying, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins and of her plagues." You said your mind was heaving on certain momentous subjects, and you only waited to set Anti-slavery in the sunshine before you turned

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your mind to those subjects. Allow me to suggest that you will set Anti-slavery in the sunshine only by making it tributary to Holiness; and you will most assuredly throw it into the shade which now covers Colonization if you suffer it to occupy the ground, in your own mind or in others, which ought to be occupied by UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION FROM SIN. All the abhorrence which now falls upon slavery, intemperance, lewdness, and every other specific vice, will in due time be gathered into one volume of victorious wrath against *unbelief*. I wait for that time as for the day of battle, regarding all the previous movements as only fencing-schools and manœuvres of military discipline — or at best as the preliminary skirmishes which precede a general engagement. I counsel you, and the people that are with you, if you love the post of honor — the forefront of the hottest battle of righteousness — to set your face toward *perfect* holiness. Your station is one that gives you power over the nations. Your city is on a high hill. If you plant the standard of perfect holiness where you stand, many will see and flow to it. I judge from my own experience that you will be deserted by many of your present friends; but you will be deserted as Jonah was by the whale — the world, in vomiting you up, will heave you upon the dry land. . . .

We see the working of this communication in the following letter written a few weeks later:

W. L. Garrison to Henry C. Wright, in New York.

MS.

BOSTON, April 16, 1837.

Theodore D. Weld.

It is a great disappointment to me to hear that dear bro. Weld will be absent from New York during the anniversary week. We need the aid of his sagacious, far-reaching, active mind on that occasion; yet I grant that the preservation of his health and life is of more consequence. May he obtain a speedy restoration, and be more provident of his bodily energies in time to come! I long to know that he has embraced our ultra pacific views, and is ready to stand boldly forth in their defence. You cheer my heart by the information that our beloved sisters, Sarah and Angelina E. Grimké, are now satisfied that the followers of Him who, when he was reviled, reviled not again, and, when nailed to the cross, exclaimed respecting his murderous enemies, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do!" are not authorized to combine

together in order to lacerate, sue, imprison, or hang their enemies, nor even as individuals to resort to physical force to break down the heart of an adversary. And, surely, if they cannot do these things as a body, or in their private capacity, they have no right to join with the ungodly in doing them. The remedy, however, will not be found in anything short of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. Human governments will remain in violent existence as long as men are resolved not to bear the cross of Christ, and to be crucified unto the world. But in the kingdom of God's dear Son, holiness and love are the only magistracy. It has no swords, for they are beaten into ploughshares — no spears, for they are changed into pruning-hooks — no military academy, for the saints cannot learn war any more — no gibbet, for life is regarded as inviolate — no chains, for all are free. And that kingdom is to be established upon the earth, for the time is predicted when the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.

When they visit us in this quarter, we shall give those excellent women a welcome reception. You may tell them that the "Friends" in New England are fast ceasing to be abolitionists *ex officio*, and are becoming such in spirit and in truth.

I shall endeavor — *Deo volente* — to be in New York the week preceding the anniversary meeting. If we can find time, we will then freely interchange our religious views. My own are very simple, but they make havoc of all sects, and rites, and ordinances of the priesthood of every name and order. Let me utter a startling assertion in your ear — There is nothing more offensive to the religionists of the day than *practical holiness;* and the doctrine that total abstinence from sin, in this life, is not only commanded but necessarily obtainable, they hate with a perfect hatred, and stigmatize entire freedom from sin as a delusion of the devil! Nevertheless, "he that is born of God cannot commit sin" — "he that committeth sin is of the devil." "How shall we who are dead to sin live any longer therein?" "There is therefore now no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made us free from the law of sin and death." "Now, if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." "For by one offering he hath *forever perfected* them who are sanctified." "If any man be in Christ Jesus, he is a new creature."

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I have many things to say to you, but no time now. What anxiety, and distress, and confusion, among bankers, and brokers, and merchants, and speculators at the present time![1] I pity all those who have not treasures laid up in heaven. O the emptiness of this sin-stricken world! . . .

N. B. The *Vermont Chronicle*, New York *Observer*, and Leonard Bacon in the New Haven *Religious Intelligencer*, are out upon certain articles of yours in the *Liberator*. They are "out" in a double sense — out in their columns and out of their minds.

Except for the hospitality given to these obnoxious sentiments of Henry C. Wright's, and the author's defence of them (embracing the un-Darwinian dictum, "Man can never originate a moral obligation"), the readers of the *Liberator* had little intimation of the editor's speculations on human government until the issue of June 23, or the week following his retirement to Brooklyn, where his thoughts regained their freedom. A correspondent, in a brief essay on that subject, had argued scripturally that "we have no political or moral right to sit in judgment over laws already made," and Christians must "obey magistrates, not only for truth's but for conscience' sake." At some length, Mr. Garrison contended that human governments "are the results of human disobedience to the requirements of heaven; and they are better than anarchy just as a hail-storm is preferable to an earthquake, or the small-pox to the Asiatic cholera." From the silence of the Bible as to the *form* of such governments, he inferred not that each might claim a divine sanction, "but that the kingdom which Christ has established on earth is ultimately to swallow up or radically to subvert all other kingdoms." The main pillars which support these are —

Lib. 7: 85, 95.

Lib. 7: 103.

Lib. 7: 102.

Lib. 7: 103.

"1st. *Unbelief*, or a distrust in the providence and promises of God, to protect those who will take up the cross and follow Christ. 2nd. *Ambition*, or a love of distinction, preferment, or power over our fellow-creatures. 3d. *Pride*, or a refusal to

[1] The great panic of 1837.

acknowledge the equality and brotherhood of mankind. 4th. *Retaliation*, or the spirit of an abrogated code, ('an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,') in order to obtain redress for injuries committed against our persons or property, or friends or kindred. 5th. *Self-Righteousness*, or the belief that we are able to manage not only our own sins, but those of other men, by the aid of dungeons and gibbets, constables and sheriffs, judges and lawgivers, and thus work out the righteousness of God. 6th. *Fanaticism*, or the delusion that we are capable of governing ourselves and others, while we are rebels against God, and refuse to be crucified with Christ, that we may reign with him in his spiritual kingdom. 7th. *Selfishness*, or an unwillingness to jeopard reputation, property, personal security, life itself, for Christ's sake, in all cases whatsoever, at home or abroad, without having in reserve some constabulary force or *posse comitatus*, some military band, 'armed and equipped as the law directs,' to aid us in arresting and punishing our enemies."

To those who might ask, Is not a despotic government better than anarchy? the editor would reply: "The question is an absurdity; for human society cannot live in a state of anarchy without rapidly annihilating itself. . . . So that it is idle to talk of a government ceasing to exist over a sinful people, for their very disobedience renders it necessary until they are willing to submit to Christ. What then? Shall we, *as Christians*, applaud and do homage to human government? or shall we not rather lay the axe at the root of the tree, and attempt to destroy both cause and effect together?" Foolish are the speculations about the best form of human government: "What is government but the express image of the moral character of a people?"

The hand of Noyes was first made visible in the *Liberator* of July 28, when the editor reported his own Fourth of July address before the Anti-Slavery Society of Providence (in the High-Street meeting-house). It was, he said, "somewhat peculiar, and couched in solemn language." In the course of it he had read an extract of a letter "from an esteemed friend, in which the following startling passage occurred: '*My hope of the millen-*

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nium begins where Dr. Beecher's expires, viz., AT THE OVERTHROW OF THIS NATION!'" This passage, which "had deeply affected his mind," he developed in contrast to the noisy celebration of the national holiday, with its impious assumption that the nation bore a charmed life and was immortal. He enumerated the several discouraging "signs of woe that all is lost," partly from the mystical standpoint already employed in the article on human government, partly from the standpoint of peace, and partly in view of recent phases of the anti-slavery conflict which made him declare, "The political dismemberment of our Union is ultimately to follow." There was, for example, the appalling fact of a union of church and state in support of slavery, of which it could be predicted that as the corruptions of the church were more deep and incurable than those of the state, the church would first be dashed in pieces.[1] Above all, there was the impending, the inevitable iniquity of Texan annexation, which had caused him in this sombre discourse to speak so despairingly of the salvation of his country.

Such were Mr. Garrison's politico-religious heresies as published to the world on the eve of the first Clerical Appeal, which, as has been seen, was not concerned with them. Two days after Mr. Woodbury's letter had been printed in the *Spectator*, there appeared in the *Liberator*

Lib. 7: 140.

of August 25 a poem entitled "True Rest," forwarded by the editor from Brooklyn, with a prefatory note bearing date of August 14 and headed "Universal Emancipation"— the best expression of the new ideal which had taken possession of the writer. The note ran thus: "What an oath-taking, war-making, man-enslaving religion is that which is preached, professed, and practised in

Ante, p. 114.

this country. . . . Its main pillars are Judaism and Popery, and no wonder the crazy superstructure is tottering to its fall. But God is preparing something better

[1] The dismemberment of the great denominations did, in fact, considerably precede that of the Union.

to redeem, regenerate, and give rest to this troubled world. Out of the ruins of the various religious sects (for they are all to be destroyed by the brightness of the coming of Christ), materials of holiness shall be gathered to build up a spiritual house, and to constitute a royal priesthood." The poem need not be quoted at length, nor need we add the Scriptural illustrations thickly subjoined in foot-notes. These were partly identical with the texts already used in the letter to Henry C. Wright (written just after the composition of the poem), and their general bearing was that the blameless life ("practical holiness") is attainable by any one who is truly "born of God." Here is a portion of the poem, from its opening:

Ante, p. 149.

"If thou shouldst fail to find true rest
On earth, thou'lt find it not in heaven.
. . . . . .

"Thou mayst have joined some chosen sect,
And given thy sanction to a creed,
And been pronounced among the elect,
And zealous been in word and deed—
Most orthodox of proselytes,
Strict in observing seasons, days,
Church order, ceremonies, rites,
Constant at church, to pray and praise—
Munificent in all good works,
That with the gospel may be blest
All heathen tribes, Jews, Greeks and Turks—
Yet still a stranger be to REST.
For what *is* REST? 'Tis not to be
Half saint, half sinner, day by day;
Half saved, half lost; half bound, half free;
Half in the fold, and half astray;
. . . . . .

"One instant, boasting of free grace,
The next, God's pardoning mercy doubting!
Now sinning, now confessing[1] sin;

[1] "True Rest," under the title of "Christian Rest," was retained in the collection of 'Sonnets and Other Poems by William Lloyd Garrison,' published in Boston by Oliver Johnson, in 1843—a persistence worth remembering in the present discussion. Some verbal alterations were there made, and "confessing," in the line above, became "denouncing," sin.

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Filled with alternate joy and sorrow;
To-day, feel all renewed within,
But fear a sad relapse to-morrow!

. . . . .

"What, then, *is* REST? It is to be
Perfect in love and holiness;
From sin eternally made free;
Not under law, but under grace;
Once cleansed from guilt, forever pure;
Once pardoned, ever reconciled;
Once healed, to find a perfect cure;
As JESUS blameless, undefiled;
Once saved, no more to go astray;
Once crucified, then always dead;

. . . . . .

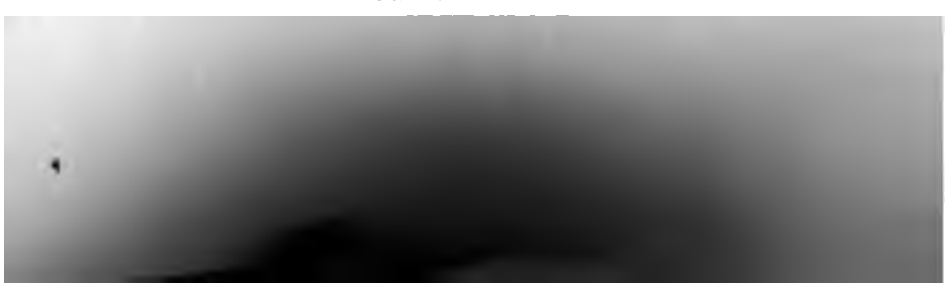
"Never from rectitude to swerve,
Though by the powers of hell pursued;
To consecrate, without reserve,
All we possess, in 'doing good.'

. . . . . .

— to keep
Not one in seven, but all days holy!"

Having thus placed another weapon in the hands of his enemies, Mr. Garrison returned to Boston and his editorial chair, and began by paying his respects to the Rev. James T. Woodbury and the second Clerical Appeal, reproduced in full in the *Liberator* of September 1. The former's letter he pronounced "a 'clerical' curiosity," of which the severest thing that could be said, for those acquainted with the writer, was that it was perfectly characteristic. The attack was not made upon himself alone, but upon William Goodell, Elizur Wright, and the host of abolitionists who had given him the right hand of fellowship, as Woodbury, on his part, had hitherto done. As for "swallowing Garrison," everybody had done so who had abandoned the Colonization Society and signed the National Anti-Slavery Declaration, for that made a man a Garrisonite.

Lib. 7: 143.



"Your complaint in the postscript to your letter is, that I 'embody abolition,' and am 'abolition personified and incarnate' — that is, 'with some.' What do you mean by such language? *If* nothing more than that my abolition principles are regarded *by* the friends of immediate emancipation as irrefragably true, *then* you are in the same predicament with them — for you profess to agree with me in those principles. If you mean, (and this *is* doubtless the 'insinuation' you intend to convey), that those who co-operate with me would 'swallow' me even if I should abandon the anti-slavery ground — that if I should espouse the Colonization Society they would still obsequiously regard me as 'abolition personified and incarnate' — then I have only to repeat that your poisoned arrows are aimed at other bosoms besides my own, and that you are guilty of wholesale calumny. I 'embody abolition' just as a thorough-going, consistent temperance-man embodies temperance — and in no other light. *Lib.* 7: 143.

"Is it an abolitionist who reproaches me and calumniates others because my advocacy of human rights has been consistent and just, and has won the respect and confidence of a great multitude of good men? How has it happened that I have brought around me, in delightful association, men of all political parties and of all religious sects, notwithstanding the mightiest efforts have been made all over the nation to crush me to the earth, and to make me appear vile in the eyes of the people? It is a problem which has puzzled all the popularity-hunters both in Church and State. But you know something of the rise and progress of the anti-slavery cause, through my humble instrumentality. I was a poor, self-educated mechanic — without important family connexions, without influence, without wealth, without station — patronized by nobody, laughed at by all, reprimanded by the prudent, contemned by the wise, and avoided for a time even by the benevolent. I stood alone, an object of wonder, pity, scorn and malevolence. You can realize nothing of the trials, discouragements and perils through which I have had to pass. The pressure upon me was like an avalanche, and nothing but the power of God sustained me. The clergy were against me — the rulers of the people were against me — the nation was against me. But God and his truth, and the rights of man, and the promises of the Holy Scriptures, were with me; and having found a partner whose vision was as clear, whose faith was as strong, and whose self-denial was as great, as my own, I commenced that warfare which is now going on with such glorious success.

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From the very first moment that I buckled on my armor, I was assured that I could not maintain my ground; that I should retard instead of aiding the cause of emancipation; that my language was not to be tolerated; that my principles and measures were wild and untenable; and that no person of sane mind would rally under my standard. The entreaties, and warnings, and prophecies, and rebukes which my determination elicited, were numberless: and had I been influenced by them, had not God made my forehead strong against the foreheads of the people, the bark of abolition would have been wrecked upon the rocks and quicksands of human expediency.

"I will not stop to trace the progress of this great enterprise. Suffice it to say, that its growth has been such as to astonish nations. Now, sir, if I possess any influence, it has been obtained by being utterly regardless of the opinions of mankind; if I have acquired any popularity, it has been owing to my sturdy unwillingness to seek that honor which comes from men; if I have been 'swallowed' by anybody, it is because I have always refused to 'confer with flesh and blood.' I have flattered no man, feared no man, bribed no man. Yet having made myself of no reputation, I have found a reputation; having refused to be guided by human opinions, I have won 'golden opinions' from the best of men; having sought that honor which comes from God, I am not left without honor among my countrymen."

For the rest, Mr. Garrison declared that he had never, *as an abolitionist*, tried to enforce his own views as to the Sabbath, the Christian ordinances, the ministry, or human and family governments.

Lib. 7: 145.

In the second Clerical Appeal, Messrs. Fitch and Towne partly reiterated their former charges, but largely, shifting their ground, availed themselves of the fresh matter afforded both in the replies to them and by their own supporters. They found a new motive for their "Protest" (as they preferred to call it) in the alleged fact that the *Liberator* was now the organ of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. "It has been adopted as their paper; they, and they only, stand pledged to meet all the expenses connected with its publication." Mr. Fitch, as a member of the Board of Managers, had a personal

responsibility laid upon him. The paper could no longer be circulated by those who loved the institutions of the gospel. The Society must have "at least a new public organ" (videlicet, the *Spectator*). From Mr. Garrison's reply they picked the passage on the sanctimonious pretensions of the clergy, which they called unparalleled railing. "We confess," they said, "that from the moment of Mr. Garrison's attack upon the Sabbath, we have entertained suspicions of the *Liberator*." They now regarded it as more dangerous than open infidelity. Add the sifting in of doctrine looking to the abolition of civil government, the visible church, the Christian ordinances and ministry. "In a piece of poetry from his pen, in the last number, he speaks of keeping 'Not one in seven, but all days holy.' The whole effusion breathes the genuine spirit of Perfectionism, and is throughout a singular production." The wise and good cannot much longer countenance these evils.

Ante, p. 140.

The aim to create a sectarian division, by personally discrediting the editor of the *Liberator* both with his own subscribers and with the great body of the abolitionists, was now manifest. It became incumbent on the Board of Managers to meet the accusation of the schismatics, which they promptly did. More than two-thirds of the Board were members of "evangelical" denominations; but their Statement brought little comfort to Messrs. Fitch and Towne. They asserted that the cause was not identified with any sect or party, and was not responsible for the views of any individuals. They rehearsed the steps which led to their being instructed at the annual meeting, notwithstanding the Sabbath article, to take such measures as they judged necessary to maintain the *Liberator*, leaving the editorial control with Mr. Garrison. They had made a contract for the current year accordingly, and had heard no complaint from their colleague, Mr. Fitch. "We deem the Appeal," they said, "peculiarly unseasonable and unkind,—unjust in its allegations, and inconsiderate if not ungenerous and

Lib. 7: 147.

Ante, p. 122.

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unchristian in the manner of preferring them." They would never expend the Society's funds in behalf of sectarian or party views, or other and extraneous subjects.

Lib. 7: 157, 155.

A third Clerical Appeal ended the ostensible partnership of the two signers. It was an enlargement of their original position as to the rights of pro-slavery pulpits and pastors against "invasion," and left no room for further debasement of the standard of anti-slavery principle. The debate was now transferred to the *Spectator*, which, from being a medium, turned participant on its own account. It had lately become the property of John Gulliver, one of Mr. Fitch's deacons in the Free

Lib. 7: 155, 171.

Church, who was thought to have repented of his bargain, and to be seeking a way to make it profitable by converting it into an organ of sectarian abolitionism. To do this it was necessary to make the movement sectarian, which it had not heretofore been, and to break down the man and the paper which barred the way to such a consummation.

In the meantime, words of cheer and confidence began to reach Mr. Garrison from all quarters, and with the

Lib. 7: 150, 155, 158, 159, *etc.*

advent of the cooler weather the various anti-slavery societies, from West to East, in an unbroken roll, denounced the Appeal, and upheld the intended victim of it in formal resolutions of approbation. Naturally, the Quaker element was only attached to him more closely by his peace utterances, and the support sent up from Pennsylvania was consequently of the strongest. Good-

Lib. 7: 146.

ell, in his *Friend of Man*, expressly asserted the right of Garrison and the Grimkés to their opinions along with other Quakers — like Elliott Cresson, for example. Whittier, as might have been expected, was not wanting

Lib. 7: 154.

with a letter of encouragement. N. P. Rogers, in the

Lib. 7: 158.

Herald of Freedom, declared of his friend: "Under God, William Lloyd Garrison is the mover of American Anti-slavery. But for him I know not why there should be now a single anti-slavery society in the whole land"; and added, that the clerical dissenters "cannot take a

single anti-slavery position but what Garrison holds the right of discovery and preoccupancy." The colored citizens of Boston and Philadelphia rallied to uphold the arm of their Moses. "We feel fully persuaded," said they of the latter city, with singular felicity of diction, "that the day cannot be far distant when you will be acknowledged — by the very lips of those who now denounce, revile, and persecute you as the vilest and basest of men, the uprooter of all order, the destroyer of our country's peace, prosperity and happiness — to be its firm reliance, its deliverer, the very pillar of its future grandeur." In New York alone the Appeal found an echo or excited apprehension.

Lib. 7: 154, 163, 178.

Lib. 7: 178.

Upon his removal from Brooklyn (Conn.) to Boston, Mr. Garrison wrote to his brother-in-law:

"I have seen a good many of our best abolition friends since my return, and have received a very cordial greeting from them all. The Fitch party would be 'less than nothing,' were it not for the co-operation of our enemies with it. Bro. Fuller assures me that there are not more than *three* members in the Free Church who can swallow the Appeal. Mr. Fitch will not probably remain here long. Bro. Whittier arrived here yesterday from New York. I learn from him that our friends in New York will not be disposed to make themselves a party in this controversy — though I do not see how they can fairly stand aloof from it. It behooves them to remember that 'silence gives consent' — and if they refuse to answer the Appeal, the enemy will construe their silence into a virtual approval of it. Bro. Stanton is also here, but expects to leave for New York on Monday or Tuesday. He is somewhat cautious about committing himself, though he is disposed to stand by us. Father Bourne left to-day noon for New York. I have just read a letter from our friend Lewis Tappan, addressed to bro. Phelps, in reference to the 'clerical' disaffection. He says H. C. Wright will be recalled by the Executive Committee unless he ceases interweaving his 'no government' views with abolitionism.[1] He thinks it is unfortunate that the Massachusetts

MS. to G. W. Benson, Aug. 26, 1837.

John E. Fuller.

[1] Two months later, Mr. Wright's commission having expired, the Executive Committee would not renew it because of his peculiar peace views, and because he declined giving a pledge to confine himself to the discussion of abolitionism (MSS. Oct. 20, 1837, Abby Kelley to W. L. G.; Nov. 13, 1837, C. C. Burleigh to J. M. McKim).

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Anti-Slavery Society is connected at all with the *Liberator*, as it gives the enemy some advantage in saying that the Society is responsible for all that I write and publish. We are to have a

August 28.

Board meeting on Monday, expressly on this point; and what will be the result, I can hardly predict. Probably friend Knapp and myself will have to resume the pecuniary responsibilities of the paper, but these will probably be met by some of our brethren. If not, the paper cannot be sustained after the first of January next.

"I feel somewhat at a loss to know what to do — whether to go into all the principles of holy reform, and make the abolition cause subordinate, or whether still to persevere in the *one* beaten track as hitherto. Circumstances hereafter must determine this matter."

At the same date Sarah Grimké, from the hospitable home of Samuel Philbrick,[1] in Brookline, Mass., was reporting to Henry C. Wright:

MS. Aug. 27, 1837.

"Dear Angelina is quite troubled: she is more downcast than I have yet seen her, because our coming forth in the anti-slavery cause seems really to be at the bottom of this clerical

Theodore D. Weld.

defection. . . . Brothers Whittier and Weld are anxious we should say nothing on the woman question; but I do not feel as if I could surrender my right to discuss any great moral subject. If my connection with Anti-slavery must continue at the expense of my conscience, I had far rather be thrown out of the anti-slavery ranks; but our business at present seems to

[1] Samuel Philbrick was born at Seabrook, N. H., in 1789. His parents, Joseph and Lois Philbrick, were Quakers; the father, a farmer, being a preacher in that denomination. His schooling was finished at the academy in Sandwich, Mass., and he began his business career in Lynn, after marrying in 1816 Eliza, only daughter of Edward and Abigail Southwick, of Danvers. His sympathy with Mary Newhall's "New Light" movement led to the sectarian disownment of himself and wife. As already noted *(ante*, 1:145), he was one of the earliest agents of Lundy's *Genius*. His admitting a colored child, in charitable training at his own home as a housemaid, to his pew in the First Congregational Church in Brookline (where he went to reside in 1830) was resented as a "breach of decorum"; and he separated from the church sooner than permit the girl to be relegated to the "negro pew." He soon acquired a competence as a leather merchant in Boston, and in 1836 retired from active business. He was a most sagacious counsellor in the anti-slavery cause, which he liberally endowed, and rendered invaluable service as Treasurer of the Massachusetts Society for nearly twenty years. Mr. Garrison and the *Liberator* in particular were greatly indebted to him.

be 'in patience to possess our souls.' . . . I expect, from all I can learn of the views of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, that it is their intention to take the consciences of their agents into their keeping; they have disclaimed, as thou wilt see by the *Emancipator*, all connection with us,[1] and I suppose will do the same by thee. . . .

"Dear brother Garrison has been passing the day with us. As iron sharpeneth iron, so doth a man the countenance of his friend, and it has cheered my spirit to find that he unites fully with us on the subject of the rights of woman. I did not see how his enlightened mind could do otherwise, but it has been pleasant to hear the confirmation from his own lips. . . .

"Brother Phelps came out here and spent an evening very pleasantly with us. We talked the whole matter over. He said he came to learn, and listened very patiently to all our arguments in favor of women's preaching. He said his views had been of long standing, and he had not yet re-examined the matter. I hope he will do so, but really the abolitionists are in such trouble about the clerical defection that I doubt whether he will have time. However, he has given up the idea of publishing a protest against us." *Lib.* 8:9.

To this, Angelina adds a postscript, asking—

"What would'st thou think of the *Liberator* abandoning abolitionism as a *primary* object, and becoming the vehicle of *all* these grand principles?[2] Is not the time rapidly coming for such a change; say after the contract with the Massachusetts Society is closed with the editor, the first of next year? I trust brother Garrison may be divinely directed."[3]

The Grimkés and Henry C. Wright were unquestionably the cause of the official caution to the public given through the *Emancipator* as referred to by the

[1] This was easy, as the Grimkés were travelling at their own expense, and without fee of any kind.

[2] The Grimkés had discussed with Mrs. Chapman the idea of a woman's paper, but were averse to separating the sexes into different organizations more than could be avoided, and at present they were not shut out from a hearing in men's papers (MS. Aug. 27, 1837, S. M. Grimké to H. C. Wright).

[3] These and other similar conferences transpired in a letter dated Nov. 25, 1839, published by John E. Fuller in the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*, and reprinted in the 2d Annual Report of the Mass. Abolition Society (*Free American*, 3:58).

elder sister, though no names were mentioned. Do not,
Lib. 7: 141. said the Executive Committee, confound the Society's doctrines "with such as individual members may occasionally advance." These must speak on their own responsibility; the Society will not permit its funds "to be used for the promotion of any principles or objects whatever except those specified in the Constitution." Differences of opinion, however, among abolitionists on politics or religion were a sign of strength, not of weakness; for the cause embraced all sects and parties. This warning uttered, the *Emancipator* remained dumb on the agitation in Massachusetts. The following correspondence will show what was going on privately:

W. L. Garrison to G. W. Benson.

MS. BOSTON, Sept. 16, 1837.

As to the kind of reception which the Clerical Appeal is receiving at the hands of our abolition brethren, you will learn very explicitly, and in a manner that will be cheering to your
Lib. 7: 153, 154, 155. heart, by this week's *Liberator*. If this sedition in our ranks should be speedily and effectually quelled, I think our enemies may as well surrender at discretion — or at least abandon all expectation of dividing and conquering our forces. The only thing that surprises and grieves me is, the studied silence of the *Emancipator* respecting this controversy. It has not said a word about it, and, I understand, does not mean to say anything — notwithstanding the charges in the Boston and Andover Appeals are broadly made against our cause and "leading abolitionists" — and notwithstanding the religious and political pro-slavery presses are publishing the Appeal, with strong encomiums, all over the land! Silence like this is shameful, is criminal, and anything but magnanimous. I have received a singular letter from Elizur Wright, Jr., in which he denounces my course in the severest manner. Could you see it, you would hardly believe that he could have penned such a letter. But it only convinces me that all is not as it should be at headquarters, and that our friends in New York would be glad, on the whole, to see me cashiered, or voluntarily leave the ranks. Next week I mean publicly to rebuke the *Emancipator*. You will perceive by the *Liberator*, that our State Society is to hold

a quarterly meeting at Worcester on the 27th inst. I sincerely hope you will be able to attend it; for, doubtless, Woodbury, Fitch, Towne, and their party, will endeavor to rally all their forces, and try to force through the meeting some condemnatory resolutions. I think I shall not attend, but let things take their course, uninfluenced by my presence. CHAP. III. 1837.

Lewis Tappan to W. L. Garrison.

NEW YORK, Sept. 21, 1837. *MS.*

MY DEAR FRIEND: Since sending my letter in answer to yours of the 13th, I have read over your remarks again and again, and will add to my letter the following, taking up the topics in your letter in course.

1. You think we approve of the Appeal because we do not openly condemn it. *We do not approve it.* It is very censurable, in many respects. It is unkind towards *you;* it is addressed to the public before private remonstrance had been tried; it censures *you* for acts done by the *editor pro tem.;* its spirit is bad; the appellants—some, at least—had not clean hands, etc., etc. Still, there was cause of complaint. The allusions to Messrs. White and Blagden were not right; the discussion of the Sabbath question was injudicious; the doctrines on national and family government are wrong, as most conceive; and the SPIRIT EXHIBITED BY THE EDITOR PRO TEM., AND SOMETIMES BY YOURSELF, HAS NOT BEEN SUFFICIENTLY KIND AND CHRISTLIKE. If, then, the *Emancipator* had come out, it would have censured the authors of the Appeal and the *Liberator* also. It was not best to do this prematurely, if at all. It may be necessary to do it. If so, it will be done in a Christian manner, I trust. *Rev. Elipha White, Rev. G. W. Blagden.*

2. You say we seem to think the discordance a local affair. It is so, in many respects. Had five clergymen in this State made such an "Appeal," with reference to the *Emancipator* or Executive Committee, we should not have thought it "sedition," nor considered it a duty to expend so much strength in reply. What! shall a whole army stop its aggressive movements into the territories of its enemies to charge bayonets on five soldiers, subalterns, company or even staff officers, because they stray into a field to pick berries, throw stones, or write an "Appeal"? Does not such a measure induce our opponents to believe that we are weak, discordant, and inefficient? Will it not persuade them that it is in their power to

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throw us into confusion, or to divert our attention, at pleasure, whenever they choose to seduce or coerce any five of our number to step out of the ranks or behave unseemly there!

It would seem that principles and feelings are at work in Massachusetts, in the abolition ranks, that are unknown elsewhere, because a breach has been made there that is disproportioned to the cause, so far as we can judge.

3. You ask if it is magnanimous to leave you to manage single-handed a concern that affects *the cause*. Certainly not if it be indeed such a monstrous subject as you suppose. But we [do] not think it is. In our judgment, the Appeal is not fraught with so much evil as you seem to apprehend. We do not think it very formidable, nor that it requires all the abolition artillery in the nation to quell it. It has appeared to me that you alone could have given the *coup de grâce* to this procedure if in a short article you had treated the "Appeal" as a hasty, injudicious affair — one that the signers would soon regret; had expressed your regret that there had been any cause of complaint, and had solemnly and affectionately appealed to the signers, and all others, to overlook private, personal, and trifling considerations, at such a crisis as this, and devote themselves with new zeal and energy to the accomplishment of the great object for which we have associated. Then, if what has been faulty in the *Liberator* had been amended, the hearts of the abolitionists in Massachusetts would have been knit together anew, and they would, I fain believe, have been stronger than ever.

You think that the *Emancipator* and Executive Committee are both bound to meet the injurious aspersions in the Appeal officially, and that if we refuse so to do, we shall need to be admonished by abolitionists universally. I confess I am surprised, dear Garrison, at your earnestness in this matter. Why, if fifty clerical abolitionists should publish an "Appeal," I for one would hesitate long before I gave my vote, as a member of the Executive Committee, for any official notice of it whatever. I would rather vote for a resolution to censure those brethren who magnified the Appeal, and turned aside, at such a crisis, to wage battle with part of our own troops, improperly as they were conducting. Admonition cannot hurt us, and if any of our constituents are even angry with us, we must not swerve from what we deem the line of duty. NO, dear friend, we must and will act according to our deliberate and con-

scientious sense of duty. But, after you have so nobly said, "True-hearted abolitionists never will quarrel with each other," we have little fear that *you* will quarrel with the Executive Committee. If you do, the war will all be on one side. I trust there is not a man among us who will be so heartless, ungrateful, or different from the great body of abolitionists throughout the country, as to insult, disparage, or attempt to injure one whom we are bound to honor and to love for his early, unremitting, and invaluable devotion to the cause. So fully am I possessed with these feelings toward you, my dear friend, that it is painful to differ from you on the subject we are discussing. And I do it in the firm persuasion that shortly you will view the matter differently from what you now do, and approve the course we are determined on taking here.

4. You speak of "sedition," and of "chastising Messrs. Fitch, Towne and Woodbury." I do not like such language. They come up to the average abolitionism of the day. By denouncing them, then, you denounce probably a majority of the members of the American anti-slavery societies in the United States. Is this wise? For myself, whenever I have found a man doing anything for the cause of the poor slave, or for the free people of color, I have forborne to censure him severely, believing that he was on our side, partially at least, and would be, by and bye, wholly. We cannot afford to drive away, or "knock in the head," friends who are substantially right. No, no. We must be patient, forbearing, forgiving, especially to those of our own household.

You will not think from this that I would relinquish foundation-principles. By no means. But, holding on to these, I would rebuke those who err, with all long-suffering, profiting by their reproofs, even if unkindly made.

5. Our silence with regard to the Andover Appeal appears to you more extraordinary than silence with reference to the Clerical Appeal. Marvellous! We know the signers — both those who were abolitionists before the measure was concocted, and those who became members of the Anti-Slavery Society "on the spur of the occasion." Would it, then, have been becoming in the Executive Committee to have issued a counter Appeal to that of some 30 or 40 young men, who felt desirous of showing their opinion on the subject of the schism between the abolitionists in and near Boston? Why, my dear sir, our hands would be full were we to reprimand all we see faulty or

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remiss in different branches of our Association. The Executive Committee was not constituted for such work as this. Look at our Constitution. We are to charge the enemy and rout him, and not whip and spur our own comrades.

I have seen the remarks in the *Philanthropist* of Sept. 15,[1] and concur with most of them. The *Philanthropist* does not censure the brethren who signed the Appeal so much as they *deserve* to be censured; because, probably, *they* were not so much in his eye as those on the other side. Still, the drift and temper of the piece I like; and I am persuaded it will meet the approbation of a large majority of the abolitionists in the country, including a full proportion of the most zealous and devoted, with the above exception.

I do not wonder at your being wounded at many things said of you in the Appeals — deeply wounded. But would it not be magnanimous to overlook it all for the sake of the cause — THE CAUSE? By writing so sharply the breach is widened, and the danger is, if such a course is persisted in, that it will never be closed. How lamentable would this be! Instead of being a united band, gaining strength, and becoming more and more formidable, we should expend most of the strength that should be devoted to the accursed system of slavery upon each other, and thus weaken our efforts and postpone the jubilee over the downfall of oppression. "United we stand; divided we fall."

Receive with candor these remarks; make due allowance for anything you deem unkindly or unwisely written; and believe me to be, my dear friend,

Yours with affection and respect,

LEWIS TAPPAN.

P. S. I cannot learn that either of the signers of the Appeal has had any correspondence with any member of the Executive Committee. I am sure the Committee is unanimous in thinking the Appeal ill-tempered and injudicious. Be not hasty with the *Philanthropist* because the signers of the Appeal are not censured with more severity. Wait a little.

[1] Copied in *Lib.* 7:161. Mr. Birney reserved his opinion on the merits of the Boston controversy; saw indiscretion on both sides; had no sympathy with the spirit of Mr. Garrison's rejoinder to the Appeal, which manifested an unchristian temper; was grieved and disappointed by his course, and his former confidence in his judgment and prudence was shaken.

W. L. Garrison to G. W. Benson.

BOSTON, Sept. 23, 1837. *MS. Sept. 27, 1837.*

With regard to our meeting at Worcester on Wednesday next, I cannot urge upon you to attend it, if it will interfere materially with your business. But the crisis is a momentous one, and perhaps we have never needed a stronger expression of feeling and sentiment from the thorough-going friends of our cause than at the present time. I hope, therefore, that you will contrive, by hook or by crook, to be at Worcester; for the meeting cannot now avoid a discussion upon the "Appeal," and its decision will be looked for with great anxiety all over the land. The condemnation ought to be explicit — it ought to be strong — it ought to be decisive; especially in view of the criminal and extraordinary course pursued by the Executive Committee and *Emancipator* at New York. Be assured, we have too much sectarianism at headquarters. There appears to be "something rotten in the state of Denmark." I am troubled exceedingly in spirit at what I am constrained to consider the blind, temporizing policy which the Board at New York seem determined to pursue. Only look at it! — Five clergymen, professing to be conspicuous abolitionists, make a public appeal, in which they bring severe and vital charges, not merely against the *Liberator*, but abolitionists and their course. Another appeal, backing this up, but still more grave and general in its charges, is issued at Andover, signed by thirty-nine professed friends. Then follows a letter from J. T. Woodbury, one of the "seventy agents." All these are copied exultingly into various religious and political pro-slavery newspapers, and our enemies are rejoicing in the assertion of Fitch and Towne, that nine-tenths of the abolitionists in New England agree with them in opinion. The *Friend of Man*, the *Herald of Freedom*, the Vermont *Telegraph*, and various anti-slavery societies, have deemed the whole affair as worthy of special notice — yet, in view of all these things, our friends in New York have preserved unbroken silence! Will not our enemies quote the old adage, "Silence gives consent," and claim the *Emancipator* as *privately* favoring the Appeal? Our friends at New York may rely upon it, that the course which they have resolved to pursue, respecting this matter, will very much displease the great body of abolitionists, and alienate them and their money from the Parent Society.

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In order that you may know something of the feelings at headquarters, I make a few extracts from a letter which I have received from Elizur Wright, Jr., a letter the tone and temper of which are so unlike himself, that you will find it difficult to believe that he wrote it. He says —

"I could have wished, yes, I have wished, from the bottom of my soul, that you could conduct that dear paper, the *Liberator*, in the singleness of purpose of its first years, without travelling off from the ground of our true, noble, heart-stirring Declaration of Sentiments — without broaching sentiments which are novel and shocking to the community, and which seem to me to have no logical sequence from the principles on which we are associated as abolitionists. I cannot but regard the taking hold of one great moral enterprise while another is in hand and but half achieved, as an outrage upon common sense, somewhat like that of the dog crossing the river with his meat.[1] But you have seen fit to introduce to the public some novel views — I refer especially to your sentiments on government and religious perfection — and they have produced the effect which was to have been expected. And now, considering what stuff human nature is made of, is it to be wondered at that some honest-hearted, thorough-going abolitionists should have lost their equanimity? As you well know, I am comparatively no bigot to any creed, political or theological; yet, to tell the plain truth, I look upon your notions of government and religious perfection as downright fanaticism — as harmless as they are absurd. I would not care a pin's head if they were preached to all Christendom; for it is not in the human mind (except in a peculiar and, as I think, diseased state), to believe them. . . .

"My heart sickens over your letter to Woodbury. I feel that it does injustice to him. Grant that his publication was ill-natured, coarse, and acrimonious: there was still some reason — to his mind, very strong reason — for it. You meet him in a way which my whole soul tells me is *sinful*. You exalt yourself too much. I pray to God that you may be brought to repent of it, as repent you must, unless my moral vision is wofully bleared. I am as confident as of my existence, that a few more such letters would open a bottomless gulf of

[1] It was about this time that Mr. Wright first made acquaintance with La Fontaine's Fables, and began the metrical version of them which is to-day the best in the language (see the advertisement to the first edition, 1841).

distrust between you and the abolitionists. . . . Let the Sabbath and the theoretic theology of the priesthood alone for the present, and with my good will you may grind every one of them to powder who brings his popery to sustain the slaveholder. Let the government alone, till, such as it is, all are equally protected by it, and after that you may work your will upon it, for all me. But if all this cannot be done, why, come out plainly, and say you have left the old track and are started on a new one — or, rather, two or three new ones at once, and save us from the miserable business of making *disclaimers*.[1] I cannot but regard the Boston controversy as wrong, wrong, wrong, *on both sides*. If strict military justice were done, I am thinking both parties would be cashiered!"

If our dear bro. E. Wright can scribble in the foregoing strain, what have we to expect from other members of the Executive Committee? — I have a letter from Lewis Tappan,[2] in which he says —

"I deeply regretted seeing the Clerical Appeal; but after its publication, my own judgment would have been in favor of a short, well-tempered, dignified, Christ-like reply [thus insinuating that neither brother Phelps nor myself have exhibited any of these qualities!] Your reply to Woodbury pained me exceedingly. It was beneath you in very many respects. Without enlarging, I consider the whole proceedings most unwise and hurtful. The Executive Committee determined on maintaining silence, at least for the present, and they approve the course pursued by the editor of the *Emancipator*. They will not be deterred from what they deem their duty. They neither approve of the Appeal *nor of the replies*, but lament the whole. . . . Candor induces me to say, that, in my judgment, objectionable things have appeared in the *Liberator*, and they have been discussed, at times, with an appearance of acrimony. Questions have been mooted that had better not have been discussed, and language has sometimes been used not in ac-

[1] Mr. Wright was not quite so frank to Mr. Garrison as to Mr. Phelps, to whom, on Oct. 26, 1837, he wrote: "I have just received a letter from Garrison which confirms my fears that he has finished his course *for the slave*. At any rate, *his* plan of rescuing the slave by the destruction of human laws is fatally conflictive with ours. Only one of them can lead to any good result. Still, if he would run up his *perfection flag*, so that abolitionists might see what they are driving at, shouting for him, he would not do us much hurt. *I have conjured him to do so. Honesty requires it of him*" (2d Annual Report Mass. Abolition Society, in *Free American*, 3:57).

[2] Evidently the one to which that just quoted in full was supplementary.

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cordance with the lowly spirit of the gospel. . . . May the Lord preserve you and bless you, and give you the sweet temper of John united to the intrepidity and ardor of Paul."

I might make other extracts, but these must suffice. Have we not reason to feel disquieted at the New York policy? If persisted in, will it not inevitably divide the anti-slavery ranks? In the next *Liberator* I shall feel it to be an imperative duty to rebuke the Executive Committee and the *Emancipator* before the public.

How much, then, is depending upon the meeting of our State Society at Worcester! Whatever it does, will tell mightily for good or evil. Whether Fitch and Woodbury will try to rally their forces on that occasion, I do not know, but think it highly probable. Should you attend, let your soul speak out as God shall give it utterance — and think not of me as your brother-in-law, but only of our glorious cause. You are, happily, too well known to be charged with being swerved or biased by our connexion. Bro. May and Phelps will be there — the Grimkés — Alvan Stewart,[1] and perhaps Gerrit Smith, and many others. The meeting will probably hold two days, but perhaps only one. . . . The course of reasoning marked out in your letter, to be given at Worcester, is very good and conclusive. I have not time or room to suggest any points. As I shall not go to Worcester myself, perhaps I may find time to send you a few suggestions by bro. Phelps.

Mr. Garrison's scruples about attending the Worcester Convention were overcome by his friends, who naturally desired that he should manage his own cause. He was, however, much engaged on the business committee,[2] and did not hear the debates, and spoke only to the question of Texas. His appearance there was the signal for "some spontaneous rounds of approbation." "This strong burst," said the editorial notice of it in the *Liberator*, "was elicited, most evidently, not as an idle compliment, but as an expression of the sentiments of the audience in relation to the recent clerical attack

Lib. 7: 163.

Lib. 7: 169.

[1] An eminent lawyer of Utica, N. Y., who took a leading part in the formation of the State Anti-Slavery Society in 1835 (*ante*, p. 42). He was not present at Worcester, nor was Gerrit Smith. The Rev. Joshua Leavitt, editor of the *Emancipator*, alone represented the American Society.

[2] Towne was placed upon the same committee.

upon my anti-slavery course. . . . It was, indeed, a death-knell to the hopes of seditious plotters in our ranks, and of open and avowed enemies. It is worthy of remark, moreover, that *all* the speakers were applauded, except Mr. Fitch." This was on the evening of September 27. The day had passed without any demonstration from the appellants, who had nevertheless been earnestly laboring with twenty-four orthodox clergymen in several private caucuses, from which lay delegates were excluded. Their spokesman at last, on the day following, was Deacon Gulliver, who forced upon the meeting a topic which it would have avoided. He was, at Mr. Garrison's own request, allowed to read a personal attack, to which the Convention listened in silence and then proceeded to pass resolutions of adhesion to the principles of 1833, "and not to the opinions of *any man* or *set of men*." The abolitionists of Massachusetts, they said, "know no man, or set of men, as leaders in this enterprise"; anti-slavery was not the cause of any party or sect, and should not be identified with or made responsible for individual views on other subjects. They approved the action of the Board of Managers as to "certain Appeals." Touching the immediate work for the Society, they dwelt upon the impending annexation of Texas, and the urgency of sounding a general alarm, bringing influence to bear on Congressmen, and procuring a protest from the next Legislature, while not ceasing to catechise candidates at State elections on the question of adding new slave States, on the right of petition, the power of Congress over slavery in the District and over the inter-State slave trade, etc.

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Lib. 7: 170.

The action of this Convention (to which, by the way, female delegates were admitted) determined the ascendency of Mr. Garrison, not only in Massachusetts, but in New England, which was largely represented at Worcester. Primarily it was a tribute to his personal character in a region where he was intimately known, and where his presence never failed to disarm prejudice and

Lib. 7: 163.

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opposition.[1] It was also the result and the sign of the liberalizing influence of the *Liberator* during the seven years of its existence, in all which the editor had uniformly inculcated and exemplified an unsectarian policy towards friends and foes. With such an assurance of support, he resumed the task of following up the clerical appellants. In the next subsequent issue of his paper he carried out his intention of rebuking the Executive Committee, in the following terms:

Oct. 6, 1837.

Lib. 7: 163.

"The *Emancipator* has maintained a profound and, we are constrained to think, a most injurious silence respecting the Clerical Protests, and the movements of the anti-slavery societies in reference to them. All the abolition newspapers have spoken out, except one: the *Emancipator* alone is dumb! What does it mean?"

Oct. 13, 1837.

Ante, p. 145.

In the second issue he for the first time published (without the signature) Noyes's "solemn and powerful letter from Newark," as being "in accordance with our views and feelings," and as clearly defining "what is foolishly styled the 'no-government' theory: it only means the perfect reign of Christ throughout the earth."

Oct. 20, 1837; *Lib.* 7: 169.

In the third issue, at the writer's request, he published in full Deacon Gulliver's "unprofitable gallimaufry" delivered at Worcester, accompanying it with notes in which his enemies could find plenty of fresh accusation against him. Here is one of them:

"Be it known that, 'with the concurrence of the ministers,' or *without* their concurrence, the purposes of the Almighty against slavery shall be accomplished, and the cause of freedom be ultimately triumphant. Indeed, the anti-slavery cause is in danger of being injured chiefly by the clergy, as a body.

[1] Thus, at Dover, N. H., in 1842, "We were amazed above measure," writes N. P. Rogers, "to hear brother Francis Cogswell and Rev. Brother Young eulogizing Garrison. 'I have been highly pleased with Mr. Garrison,' said Brother Young. . . . 'If you would send out such men as Garrison,' said friend Cogswell, 'your cause would prosper.' 'How long have you been an admirer of Garrison, brother Cogswell?' said we. 'Oh, I have not liked his writings,' said he. 'He has not written as he speaks here.' 'Always,' said we" ('Acts of the A. S. Apostles,' p. 222).

Should its management get out of the hands of *the people* into theirs, its integrity will be constantly perilled." CHAP. III. 1837.

Again, the Deacon had asked: "Does he not claim to be a Christian while as yet he has never confessed Christ before men, and is living in the habitual neglect of Christian ordinances?" To this Mr. Garrison replied: *Lib.* 7: 170. "This sectarian taunt is alike impudent and malignant. No *genuine* abolitionist could possibly make it in such a connection and under such circumstances. It is evidently the offspring of cant and hypocrisy. What has the observance or neglect of 'the ordinances' to do with the anti-slavery cause?"

The *Spectator* had meantime come out openly in favor *Lib.* 7: 169. of a new anti-slavery organization, to include men who kept aloof from the existing one on sectarian grounds—"a great proportion of the Orthodox community," declared a correspondent of that paper; adding: "Orthodox men cannot be active in that society without having their feelings wounded." These tactics did not disconcert Mr. Garrison. He wrote on October 20 to George W. Benson:

"Truly, there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous—from pathos to bathos—from what is true to what is false. Hence I descend to the Clerical Appeal. Was ever treachery so signally punished as in the case of the signers of that unfortunate document! What an avalanche of condemnation has fallen upon their heads, grinding them to powder! What expressions of regard for the *Liberator* and its editor have been extorted by their conduct! But the conspiracy is not wholly quelled, as you will perceive by the attempt of Dea. Gulliver to get up a separate organization. The clergy (meaning the Colonization and Union portion of them, together with such deserters as Fitch, Towne and Woodbury) are very busily engaged in holding caucuses, corresponding with each other, and laying plots to carry their point against us. There is a tremendous accumulation of power in their hands, and they are able to wield it with great effect; but, happily, the charm of their infallibility is dispelled, and the people are beginning to see that they may refuse to kiss their feet and yet obtain salva- *MS.* *American Union.*

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tion. I do not mean needlessly to protract the controversy that is now going on; but it is really of great service to our cause to publish the proceedings of anti-slavery societies, condemnatory of the Appeal and in favor of the *Liberator*. There are a great many encomiums heaped upon me which are altogether unmerited, but they are useful in refuting the charge that I am growing unpopular with the abolitionists. If my enemies don't wish to see me praised, let them cease attacking me.

"It is not my intention, at present, to alter either the general character or course of the *Liberator*. My work in the anti-slavery cause is not wholly done: as soon as it is, I shall know it, and shall be prepared, I trust, to enter upon a mightier work of reform.[1] ***The cause must be kept in the hands of laymen***, or it will not be maintained."

Lib. 7: 169.

In the same sense was the following comment on a communication copied from the *Spectator*: "It is a truth which neither 'P.' nor any other jesuitical whitewasher can refute, that the clergy, as a body, whether in New England or out of it, have always been most implacable in their prejudices towards the colored people, and unwilling to plead their cause except as connected with a scheme of banishment." And again: "More cant! The clergy will come whenever their flocks take up the line of march, let the prevailing 'spirit' [in the conduct of the Anti-Slavery Society] be what it may—rely upon that!" Such heretical plain-speaking emboldened the *Spectator* to draw out its adversary still further, by

Lib. 7: 173.

means of an article headed "Errors of Influential Men," which indeed the editor of the *Liberator* found it impossible to pass by, pronouncing it a most extraordinary attack upon himself and the colored people of Boston,

[1] On the same date as the above, Miss Abby Kelley, secretary of the Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society, remitting the balance of a pledge "for the support of thy *invaluable* paper," tells in a private note (MS. Oct. 20, 1837) of her joy in the last number of the *Liberator*. "I trust the time is now *fully* come when thou wilt take a decided stand for *all truths*, under the conviction that the *whole* are necessary to the permanent establishment of any *single one*." She speaks the sentiment of the town in saying that the *Liberator* will be supported in laying the axe to the root of the tree, "as expressed by thy Newark correspondent."

and consigning it to the "Refuge of Oppression." It compels me, he said, "to utter sentiments foreign to the anti-slavery enterprise, for which that enterprise is not responsible, and with which I am confident 'nine-tenths' of my abolition brethren will hold no fellowship." The *Spectator* charged that the attendance of colored worshippers at the Free Church had fallen off without being diverted to the church in Belknap Street. Why? CHAP. III. 1837.

"One who has shown himself the ardent and untiring friend of the colored man sets lightly by the Sabbath, the house of God, and the divine ambassadors of the Prince of Peace. One day with him is as good as another. He neglects the house of God on that sacred day, and does his own pleasure, by attending to avocations which belong to other days, and not exclusively to the worship of God. Though he pretends to do all to the glory of God, yet he does not set aside the Sabbath for the appropriate duties of religion. He writes and reads and visits as on other days, so far as he can do it and not destroy his reputation for piety. He has no reverence for the ministerial office, but holds that one has as good a right to preach as another: setting apart to the sacred office pertains not to frail man." *Lib.* 7: 173.

He thus, continued the *Spectator*, exerted an alarming influence over the people of color, and incurred a fearful responsibility at the bar of God. He had even warned this people against Pastor Fitch, as an apostate to be drummed out of camp. "Christian friends, is it not time for something to be done, not to destroy this man's influence in favor of the oppressed, but to counteract the influence of his errors which go to ruin souls?"

Mr. Garrison's reply was warm. The Pharisees watched Christ to see if he would heal on the Sabbath day. For three years the editor of the *Spectator* had professed a friendly attachment towards himself, with full knowledge of his Sabbath views and practices; had praised him often. Why this attack now? "You have betrayed the cause of humanity, and now you naturally take refuge in formal hypocrisy. . . . Your new-born *Wm. S. Porter.*

CHAP. III. 1837. zeal for the Sabbath is simply personal hostility — it has reference exclusively to my overthrow and the suppression of the *Liberator*. . . . With gospel simplicity and plainness I charge you with being a deceitful and bigoted man." He had dragged in an issue not pertinent to the anti-slavery cause. "No man who has not consecrated *all* his time to the service of God has ever consecrated a seventh part of it. . . . No man who reverently regards all days as holy unto the Lord will desecrate either the first or the seventh day of the week. . . . 'The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death.' . . . You are nothing but a legalist! You are endeavoring to obtain righteousness by THE LAW, and therefore are carnally minded. . . . You seem to be ignorant that 'now we are *delivered* from the law, that being dead wherein we were held; that we should serve in *newness of spirit*, and not in the *oldness of the letter*.'"

Mr. Garrison denied that he neglected the house of God — mere brick and mortar: a legal imposture. "There is no such holy locality, or holy building, on earth." But who spies William Lloyd Garrison and keeps tally of his church-going? He refuses to plead guilty to the charge, which is pharisaical impertinence; or to the charge of reading, writing and visiting on Sunday. "The overthrow of Satan's empire, and the triumphant establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom on earth, constitute the 'ruling passion' of my soul. . . . Few men in the world have less to do with profession than myself; nay, my *crime* is, that I have not made what is called 'a public profession of religion.' But of what value are professions where fruits are wanting? or what need of professions where fruits abound?" As for his colored brethren, they had been grossly misrepresented. Very few of them knew his sabbatical views. He had never spoken to them of the spiritual meaning of the Sabbath, or endeavored to lessen their reverence for it as a holy day. With regard to apostates, the

Ante, p. 173.

colored people needed no instruction from him: for, more than thirteen years before they heard of him, they resisted the blandishments of the Colonization Society. It was notorious that the Belknap-Street Church was deserted because of dissensions since the death of their late pastor; to say nothing of the increase in colored churches. CHAP. III. 1837. *Thos. Paul.*

The colored people were not slow in answering on their own behalf the *Spectator's* calumnies, and reaffirming their love for their champion. Meanwhile, after two absurdly small and incoherent gatherings, chiefly derived from the congregations of Fitch and Towne, these appellants again linked their names together at the head of a list of forty-eight signers of a call to form a New England Anti-Slavery Society auxiliary to the American. They professed not to assume a hostile attitude towards any existing organizations, being bent on uniting such persons as had serious objections to joining these, growing out of attacks on the churches, the Sabbath, the ministry, etc. Deacon Gulliver had all ready a constitution with a "Whereas, we believe that the promotion and speedy triumph of the cause of emancipation, and the prosperity of *evangelical religion*, demand a new organization"; and with an evangelical test of membership. But these Lilliputian proceedings had now ceased to have much interest for Mr. Garrison.[1] *Lib.* 7: 190. *Lib.* 7: 171, 175. *Lib.* 7: 186. *Lib.* 7: 175, 195.

In his first issue for November, he met the disquietude of friends like Whittier, whom the publication of Noyes's "sectarian" letter had caused to write an open expression of regret that the Massachusetts Society was pecuniarily responsible for a paper not under its control. The editor announced that this responsibility would terminate with the current volume, and as he had not suggested or requested it, so he would not consent to its renewal. "We have had no ulterior views to promote under the guise of abolition, nor have we covertly intended to alter the character and object of the *Liberator;* and we should deserve to be universally despised if we *Lib.* 7: 179. *Lib.* 7: 175.

[1] See Amos A. Phelps's review of the whole movement in *Lib.* 8: 9.

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had taken advantage of any relation with the State Society to circulate our views on other subjects besides slavery, in any way justly implicating the Society, or making any other person responsible but ourselves." For more than a year prior to the Clerical Appeal he had made no allusion to the Sabbath question, directly or indirectly. Being attacked and misrepresented on this subject, in order to the suppression of the *Liberator*, "it was due to *the cause*," as well as to his own character, to repel the attack, and show that his views on the Sabbath were neither novel, nor jacobinical, nor lacking high evangelical authority.

There remained the difference with the Executive Committee in New York, which no amount of public or private interchange of views could adjust — witness that between Mr. Garrison and Elizur Wright, of which we have already had a fragment, and have here another:

Ante, p. 168.

Elizur Wright, Jr., to W. L. Garrison.

MS.

ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, NEW YORK, Nov. 6, 1837.

MY DEAR BROTHER: . . . Perhaps your "surprise" at my first letter[1] would be less were you to reflect, that, not believing in the doctrine of "perfect holiness," I am not unprepared to see *faults* in my best friends, and can reprove them without hating or despising them. Whether such reproof of you betokens on my part a lack of freedom, generosity and independence of spirit, I leave, after all, to the verdict of your own good sense. Sure enough I am that there is little good in me, but if I ever wrote under the dictation of pure untrammelled conscience, I did to you. My last letter, I hope, has convinced you that I do not wish to *gag* you on any subject.[2] Still do I beg of you, as a brother, to let other subjects alone till *slavery*

[1] The text of this has been preserved only in Mr. Garrison's citations above (p. 168). A second letter was dated Oct. 10, and desired the use of Mr. Garrison's name for the list of contributors to the enlarged *Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine*, which Mr. Wright edited with marked ability. On this head the reply (dated Oct. 23, 1837: see 2d Ann. Report Mass. Abolition Society) was favorable, and, for the rest, covered both letters.

[2] "In my magazine you shall have full sweep against the clergy and all other dignities which live by making tools of other people" (MS. Oct. 10, 1837).

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is finished, *because* this is the work you have taken in hand, it is the most pressing, and needs your whole energy. What if you do not live to communicate to the world your peculiar views of Peace, Human Government, Theology, etc.; will wisdom die with you? God is not so poverty-stricken in regard to the means of accomplishing any of his designs as to be frustrated for the want of any man. You say, "Truth is *one*, and not conflictive or multitudinous." True; but the *people* are conflictive, and moreover they cannot receive and unitedly act upon more than one great truth at once. Again, abolitionists do not agree on many points not embraced in their Declaration of Sentiments. Hence it is no more than right that those persons and papers that are "conspicuously identified" with them as a body, and are understood to speak a language common to all, should confine themselves to subjects on which all agree, or rather on which they do not seriously differ. Here is no restriction of liberty more than is due to truth and righteousness. God, by the very nature of things, has forbidden us to attempt everything at once.

But it does appear to me that *your* "truth," that human government has no rightful authority, does conflict with *our truths*, as expressed in our Declaration of Sentiments, as well as with the most important measures by which we seek to accomplish our object. In the Declaration we maintain that "the slaves ought instantly to be set free and brought under the *protection of law*," and that "Congress has the *right*, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave trade," &c. What miserable falsehood if human government has no *right* to exist! You impeach my Christianity because I "cannot cease looking to man for *protection* and redress"; how can it consist with your Christianity to demand for others "*the protection of law*"? If you follow out your doctrine, surely you must cease having anything to do with Congress and the State legislatures. Our action upon them in the direction of humanity not only recognizes, but tends to confirm, their power, for human governments are never so strong as when the weakest enjoy their protection. Having this view of the bearing of your Peace doctrines upon the dear cause of the slave, could I do less than beg of you to suppress them till our contest is over? I have no fear of the prevalence of your opinions, provided they make their home in their own tub — and that stands distinctly on its own bottom. What I fear is, that they will suck *you* into a vortex of spiritual Quixotism, and thus absorb energies which might have shaken down the citadel of oppression.

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As to the doctrine of "perfect holiness," I have not much to say. My observation of men concurs with the little study I have been able to bestow on the Old and New Testaments, in convincing me that men are not completely freed from sin by the grace of God, in this life. The final victory is on the banks of the Jordan. That a marvellous change does take place, by the blessing of God upon Gospel truth, I joyfully believe; but that a man, while in the body, is placed by it beyond the power of temptation, I must be allowed to doubt. The history of Christianity is far from furnishing any proof to this effect, and the passages of Scripture you quote, when taken in their connection, and with the allowances, exceptions and reservations to which all general propositions, *not founded on strict definitions*, are subject, do not seem to me to prove that a man cannot be holy in his general character without being altogether sinless. He cannot of course be holy and sinful in the same act, and how many times and how far he may sin and yet repent and be forgiven, I shall not undertake to decide. There are a great many things that I don't know. But I must believe the testimony of my own senses in preference to anybody's interpretation of Scripture — for Scripture itself, after all, rests on the testimony of sense; and according to that testimony I have never yet met with a man who was free from sin. I am obliged to reject your own claim to sinlessness. Your very letter refutes it. Hence I am obliged to reject your theory, or to believe that the gospel has never done its appropriate work within the range of my observation. If your theory could be established from Scripture, it would only make me an infidel, for I cannot receive a revelation which asserts that which my senses pronounce to be false, nor one which visibly fails to accomplish its object. On your theory, I must either believe that the gospel has been in the world eighteen hundred years for nothing, or I must believe that pride and vanity, flattery and slander, are holy affections and righteous acts! To be sure, I may be saved from the dilemma by more evidence, but so far as what I have goes, I am transfixed on one horn or the other. Still, therefore, am I obliged to mourn over your theological position as "downright fanaticism," and I pronounce it so with about the same confidence that I pronounce slaveholding a sin, but with far different feelings towards the subject of it.

Your theory of *perfection*, of course, takes away my hopes of salvation, which are not founded, as you intimate, on the *law*, but on *God's free grace to* SINNERS who, believing in Christ,

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desire to be *saved from sin.*—But I have said more than I intended — more than I shall ever say again. I am sick unto death of the *selfish, luxurious, good-for-nothing* sort of religion which is eternally inquiring, What will become of ME! If there are any men in the world who deserve to be damned, they are your very religious men whose anxiety is, not *to do right*, but *to escape hell.* They libel their Maker and disgrace his service. Let us do what needs to be done to promote the welfare of all within our reach, and leave our *salvation* to God.[1]

Yours for the slave,

E. WRIGHT, JR.

An older friendship than that with Elizur Wright began to totter after the appearance of the reply to the *Spectator's* libel on Mr. Garrison's relations to colored church-goers. A whole page of the *Friend of Man* was devoted to "Mr. Garrison — The *Liberator* — Affairs of the East, etc." Hitherto, Mr. Goodell had been one of the most effective backers of Mr. Garrison against the bigotry and popery and general false pretences of the Clerical Appeal, and for this he still had his word of censure, while at the same time putting forth a fresh "appeal" to the same intent. He was a more practised theologian than his brother-editor, and as strict a logician. If his premises were sound, the latter confessed his conclusions would be irresistible. "But he has totally misconceived our views: we disclaim with holy abhorrence all that he imputes to us; and we are astonished beyond measure that he should deem us so profligate in theory as to believe that what was *morally* wrong, or *morally* obligatory, under the law, is no longer so under the gospel — and therefore a Christian may take the name of God in vain, or steal, and covet, and commit adultery with impunity, or worship many gods without guilt!! Monstrous absurdity! astonishing misconception! What we have written to warrant any such conclusion, even in the most remote sense, we really are

Lib. 7: 146, 182, 189.

Lib. 7: 191.

[1] A rough draft of this letter, or else a curiously modified substitute, was published by the writer in the 2d Ann. Report of the Mass. Abolition Society (*Free American*, 3:57).

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quite ignorant." Goodell, not quoting him in full, yet as if quoting him, had exclaimed — "The Christian believer not bound to obey the moral law of God! . . . Alas! the privilege of being a *believer* becomes synonymous, then, with the privilege of being (if one pleases) a *slaveholder!* . . . Can the 'orthodox' abolitionists of New England continue to go with Mr. Garrison? Not if he must needs *point his arrows against the great moral law* which lies at the foundation of abolitionism." Herein, said Mr. Garrison, his brother Goodell had unwittingly done him immense injustice. "We have no such arrows to point — we believe in no such abominable doctrine." Grace through faith has been substituted for the law: "*Christ and him crucified* is the ONLY standard of obedience to which we are to look. 'What then? Do we make void the law? Nay, *we establish the law.*'" The new covenant has replaced the old, perfecting and far surpassing it.

The controversy was cut short on account of a more absorbing topic, which had suddenly taken possession of the entire country, and had already put the *Liberator* columns in mourning. The Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, editor of an anti-slavery religious paper called the *Observer*, had been murdered by a pro-slavery mob at Alton, Illinois. The Reign of Terror had continued without abatement during the first half of the year. Anti-slavery lecturers in most of the New England States were mobbed repeatedly, with varying degrees of violence and barbarity; ministers were attacked in the pulpit or dragged from it — the Rev. John Rankin was knocked down on leaving a church in Dayton, Ohio; elsewhere in the same State a private lecture by an abolitionist in his own home was forcibly prevented by riotous invasion; and Marius R. Robinson (one of the Lane Seminary seceders) was, two days after a similar lecture, dragged from his host's house at night, tarred and feathered, and ridden out of town. On Broadway, in New York, one saw

Lib. 7:190.

Lib. 7:39.

Lib. 7:34.

Ante, 1:454.

Lib. 7:111.

in shop windows bowie-knives for sale, marked "Death to Abolition." From time to time, through the summer and fall, from the extreme border of Northwestern civilization and settlement came news of popular disturbances at Alton directed against Lovejoy and his press, especially after he had published a call for the formation of a State Anti-Slavery Society. His life was, even to observers at a distance, clearly in great peril. Still, his situation could not be fully realized by those who did not know the elements of the community in which he was endeavoring to maintain himself; and, his case excepted, there seemed a lull in violence over the whole field when Mr. Garrison wrote thus, on November 6, to Miss Elizabeth Pease,[1] of Darlington, England:

Lib. 7: 99.

Lib. 7: 128. 135.

"With regard to the present state of the anti-slavery question in this country, you will be pleased to learn that the friends of the slave are daily multiplying in all parts of the non-slaveholding States; that there are now not less than twelve hundred anti-slavery societies in existence; that the spirit of lawless violence is in a great measure subdued, not by the arm of law, but by the power of truth and the victorious endurance of suffering innocence; that, in New England, all organized opposition to our cause has vanished; that our efforts are unceasing to gain a complete mastery over the public sentiment of the nation; and that in Massachusetts, where, only two years since, ABOLITION was a mere football among all political parties to show their contempt and dexterity in kicking it, these same parties are now 'bowing and scraping' to us, with cap in hand, at every new election, knowing as they do that we hold the balance of power in our hands, and can award victory or defeat according to their espousal of the cause of liberty. *MS.*

"Upon the slaveholding States, we make no perceptible impression. No opponent of slavery can tread upon their soil, as an abolitionist, without the risk of martyrdom. I have relin-

[1] The daughter of a wealthy and philanthropic Quaker, Joseph Pease; a lady whom he had never met, and who had just introduced herself by a gift of five guineas sent through Angelina Grimké. An intimate and lifelong friendship ensued.

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quished the expectation that they will ever, by mere moral suasion, consent to emancipate their victims. I believe that nothing but the exterminating judgments of heaven can shatter the chain of the slave and destroy the power of his oppressor. The wildest animals may be tamed, in the course of time; but tyrants, as all history shows, must be destroyed. I am clear, moreover, in the conviction that, though astonishing changes have taken place in favor of emancipation among the people of the nominally free States within the last five years, the fate of this nation is nevertheless sealed. Repentance, if it come at all, will come too late. Our sins have gone up over our heads, and our iniquities unto the clouds, and a just God means to dash us in pieces as a potter's vessel is broken."

Tanner's Martyrdom of Lovejoy, p. 154.

Even as these lines were being penned, Lovejoy's fourth press was being secretly conveyed into a warehouse, "guarded by volunteer citizens with their guns." On

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the night following, the tragedy occurred. No personal incident of the anti-slavery struggle — the fate of John Brown excepted — made so profound an impression on the North as the murder of Lovejoy. We call it a murder, although the primary object of the riot was not his destruction but that of his press; just as we call him a martyr, though we are accustomed to associate more or less of passivity with martyrdom, and he fell while aggressively repelling with arms an armed mob. In both cases the terms are correctly used, as the circumstances conclusively show. Three presses had already been destroyed on the same spot by the same community; a fourth had been procured, whose destruction meant silence—the opposition, grown more desperate, having already almost compassed the editor's assassination. He might have removed the *Observer* to Quincy or to Springfield, but there was no assurance that the liberty of the press would be vindicated in either place. The violence at Alton was, indeed, actually preceded and begotten by violence at St. Louis, but the mob-spirit was everywhere endemic at the North. With unsurpassable courage Lovejoy accepted the decision of his friends that the stand should be made then and there, not as for

an anti-slavery publication merely or mainly, but for the right under the Constitution and upon American soil to utter and print freely, subject only to the restraints and penalties of the law. To maintain this right against local public sentiment, the impotence of the city authorities compelled the friends of law and order to enroll themselves in a military organization (having the mayor's approval), whose first duty it was to prevent an anti-slavery convention from being broken up, and next to guard the newly-arrived press from being thrown into the Mississippi like its predecessors. Among them, not more in defence of himself or of his property than of the principle at stake, Lovejoy took his place; formed one of the little band of twenty who held the warehouse on the night of the fatal attack; volunteered, with a rash and magnanimous heroism, among the first who left the burning building to face the infuriated and drunken mob; was ambushed and fell, the only victim of the defence.

The greatest feeling produced by this atrocity was in the city the most remote from the scene—in Boston, where, by a rich compensation, it overcame the timidity of Channing, revealed the oratory and fixed the destiny of Wendell Phillips, and with him drew Edmund Quincy into the forefront of the ranks of the despised abolitionists. The aldermen, who at first refused the use of Faneuil Hall for an indignation meeting, and Attorney-General Austin, who desecrated the hall afresh by declaring that Lovejoy had died as the fool dieth, were surprised by the demonstration of a new Boston upon which they had not counted. The Boston which had come near having its Lovejoy in the person of Mr. Garrison, in October, 1835, had undergone a revolution in two years — a revolution perhaps to be defined as the weakening of Southern ascendency. The response of Faneuil Hall to the Alton riot was Northern resentment against a pro-slavery invasion, as it seemed.

With more exactness, however, it may be said that Lovejoy was sacrificed on Southern soil. All the towns

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along the Mississippi were frequented by Southerners, often largely settled by them. Little more than a dozen years had elapsed since the strenuous exertions of Governor Edward Coles had barely defeated the attempt of the Southern element in Illinois to legalize slavery by amending the constitution. Alton, situated in the southern half of the State, opposite the slave-cursed shore of Missouri and not far from St. Louis, in intimate commercial relations with the cotton-growing districts, was, though owing its prosperity, and even a certain reputation for philanthropy, to Eastern settlers, predominantly Southern in tone. Southern divines helped to harden public sentiment against the further countenance or toleration of Lovejoy; Southern doctors took an active part in the mob, and one of them perhaps fired the murderous shot. So, the year before, Cincinnati, tumbling Birney's press into the Ohio, was truly a Southern city; so, the year after, Philadelphia, burning Pennsylvania Hall to the ground. In fact, the least Southern and most surprising of all the mobs of that epoch was precisely the Boston mob against the editor of the *Liberator*.[1]

Washburne's Sketch of Edward Coles, p. 190.

Tanner's Martyrdom of Lovejoy, p. 125.

Ante, p. 77.

Of this mob every citizen of Boston and its vicinity must have been reminded when the news came — not as now by telegraph[2] — of Lovejoy's fate. Only a few days before, and in partial reference to the previous destruction of the *Observer's* presses, Alexander H. Everett,[3] warning his fellow-electors that the right of free discussion "is not only endangered, but, for the present at least, is actually lost," had written:

Nov. 3, 1837.

[1] The foregoing summary is substantially reproduced, without quotation marks, from the New York *Nation* (32: 264); but the present writer can plead, with Molière, "Je reprends mon bien où je le trouve."

[2] It reached Boston on the forenoon of Sunday, Nov. 19, 1837 (*Lib.* 7: 191).

[3] The elder and abler brother of Gov. Edward Everett, already distinguished in the diplomatic service of the country, as an original writer of several works, and more recently as editor of the *North American Review*. He was at this time a candidate for Congress from the Dorchester (Mass.) district, and was responding to the catechism which the abolitionists had invented for politicians.

"The newspapers of every day bring to our view the account of some new case in which a printing-press has been seized and thrown into the river; a public meeting broken up; a citizen tarred and feathered, scourged,—too often, I add with horror, put to a violent death by a lawless mob, for no other cause or crime than the free discussion of the subject of slavery. Nor are these accounts mere rumors, coming to us from a distance, of outrages committed upon the outskirts of civilization. We have seen, within the bosom of our own metropolis, an assembly of ladies who had met for conversation on the subject of slavery, broken up by a mob of persons pretending to the character of gentlemen. We have seen, on that occasion, a citizen who had rendered himself obnoxious only by a free discussion of that subject, barely escaping with his life from the fury of this mob, and actually committed to prison by the municipal authorities as the only place of security. Finally, we have seen a public meeting held by our most respected citizens at Faneuil Hall, not for the purpose of condemning such outrages, but for the purpose of condemning the free discussion which had given occasion to them." *Lib.* 7: 183.

Mr. Hallett, in his *Daily Advocate*, flatly declared that the blood of Lovejoy was on the hands of the promoters of the Faneuil Hall meeting. Seth J. Thomas, a prominent lawyer of Boston, invited by a committee consisting of Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, and Ellis Gray Loring, to speak at the Lovejoy indignation meeting about to be held in the same hall, responded:

"The liberty of the press has been wantonly assailed, and the citizens of Alton are not alone guilty of the outrage. The spirit of intolerance and of lawless bigotry has pervaded the land, and Massachusetts has felt and still feels its influence. The attack upon Mr. Lovejoy was no more wanton or unjustifiable than that made a few years since upon Mr. Garrison. In both cases, the *principle* involved is the same, and the only difference is in the degree of violence inflicted. The conduct, too, of the Mayor of Alton on the one occasion was but a little more reprehensible than that of the Mayor of Boston on the other.[1] Mr. Krum convicts himself of pusillanimity, and a total unfitness for the office which he held, by his own state- *MS. Nov.* 30, 1837. *John M. Krum.*

[1] This comparison does injustice to the Mayor of Alton, whose sympathies at least were not with the mob.

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ment; and to the conduct of Mayor Lyman I was an eye-witness. Both permitted the laws to be set at defiance, with a band of policemen and an organized militia within their call. Both had timely notice that the riots would take place, and both neglected to take the proper measures to prevent their occurrence.

"It would seem, therefore, that while we reproach the citizens of Alton for their outrage upon the liberty of the press, we should not be unmindful of ourselves. The same spirit of in-

Lib. 7: 199.

tolerance characterizes the resolutions passed by our present Mayor and Aldermen upon refusing your petition for the use of Faneuil Hall.[1] It is this, that one class of citizens shall not be permitted to express their opinions on any subject, provided those opinions are not in consonance with the opinions of the majority — a principle expressly repudiated by our Constitution, and utterly at war with the spirit of freedom, without which a republican government cannot exist. If this principle were admitted, the rights of the party which happened to be in the minority would be unheeded, and a despotism established. It is evident that, to a certain extent, a sort of despotism exists in Boston at this time, for it will be recollected that when the

Ante, 1: 495, 514.

partisans of slavery petitioned, two years since, for the use of the same place, their prayer was immediately granted; but now, when the advocates of the liberty of the press ask the use of their common property, their petition is denied, and our worthy Mayor and Aldermen tell us that resolutions of which they have no right to know anything, will not be in accordance with the sentiments entertained by a majority of our fellow-citizens."

The comparison between the events of 1835 and of 1837 did not end here. On the one hand, Richard Fletcher, then the colleague of Sprague and Otis, now

Lib. 7: 191.

offered to bear one-third of the cost of reëstablishing the Alton *Observer*. On the other hand, the "respectable

Lib. 7: 198.

daily," the *Advertiser*, true to its traditions and its class, justified the authorities in their refusal of Faneuil Hall.

Lib. 7: 202.

So, Attorney-General Austin, excusing the Alton riot by the Boston tea-riot, recalled Peleg Sprague's pointing to

[1] This petition of 100 citizens was headed by Dr. Channing (*Lib.* 7: 195). After a spirited appeal from this clergyman to the citizens of Boston, and a public demonstration (*Lib.* 7: 198), the city authorities receded, and the meeting was held in Faneuil Hall on the morning of Dec. 8 (*Lib.* 7: 202).

"that slaveholder," and drew the hot and crushing retort from Wendell Phillips, who followed him,— CHAP. III. 1837.

"Sir, when I heard the gentleman lay down principles which place the rioters, incendiaries, and murderers of Mt. Benedict[1] and Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips [pointing to the portraits in the hall] would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American — the slanderer of the dead. The gentleman said that he should sink into insignificance if he dared to gainsay the principles of these resolutions.[2] Sir, for the sentiments he has uttered, on soil consecrated by the prayers of Puritans and the blood of patriots, the earth should have yawned and swallowed him up!" *Lib.* 7 : 202.

Like the images of Brutus and Cassius in the Imperial procession, Mr. Garrison was all the more conspicuous because he did not appear before the public as in any way a mover or participant in what was meant to be a citizens' demonstration, in defence of the liberty of discussion, without regard to its object. In the private counsels of the managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, but for whom there would have been no such demonstration, he shared as usual. As a spectator only he attended the meeting.[3] His speech had already

[1] The eminence in Charlestown, Mass., on which the Ursuline Convent had been established.

[2] Austin declared them "the familiar doctrines of our bill of rights in language weakened by expansion," and only objectionable in their "particular application."

[3] "Yesterday forenoon," he writes on Dec. 9 to G. W. Benson, "we had a tremendous meeting in Faneuil Hall — not less than 5,000 persons present — with reference to the Alton tragedy. There was a good deal of feeling in the audience, and some would have been glad to get up a row; but, happily, all went off pretty quietly. Dr. Channing made some excellent introductory remarks. Wendell Phillips, George Bond, and Geo. S. Hillard also made admirable speeches. The Attorney-General Austin's speech was as vile and inflammatory as possible, and came very [near] producing a mobocratic explosion. He was replied to by Phillips with great effect. Several excellent resolutions, drawn up by Dr. Channing, passed with unexpected unanimity. The triumph has been a signal one for our side" (MS.) In this famous scene the Attorney-General spoke from the gallery, near the great gilded eagle; Mr. Phillips, from a lectern, in the body of the hall, from which Dr. Channing read his resolutions. See Mrs. Chapman's graphic account in a letter to Harriet Martineau ("The Martyr Age," *Westminster Review*, December, 1838).

Lib. 7: 191. been delivered in the *Liberator*, and in the resolutions (evidently from his hand) adopted by the Board of Managers. From his first editorial utterance some extracts must here be made. "The amiable, benevolent, intrepid LOVEJOY," he exclaimed, "is no more! . . . In his martyrdom[1] he died as the representative of Philosophy, Justice, Liberty, and Christianity; well, therefore, may his fall agitate all heaven and earth! That his loss will be of incalculable gain to the noble cause which was so precious to his soul, is certain."

Lib. 7: 191. "We cannot, however, in conscience delay the expression of our regret that our martyred coadjutor and his unfaltering friends in Alton should have allowed any provocation, or personal danger, or hope of victory, or distrust of the protection of Heaven, to drive them to take up arms in self-defence. They were not required to do so either as philanthropists or Christians, and they have certainly set a dangerous precedent in the maintenance of our cause,— though the fact does not in the least palliate the bloodthirsty conduct of their assailants. Far be it from us to reproach our suffering brethren, or weaken the impression of sympathy which has been made on their behalf in the minds of the people — God forbid! Yet, in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, who suffered himself to be unresistingly nailed to the cross, we solemnly protest against any of his professed followers resorting to carnal weapons under any pretext or in any extremity whatever."

The fifth and sixth resolutions issued in the name of the Board of Managers show the distinction which Mr. Garrison admitted between his own judgment and that of the public at large, and again of his fellow-abolitionists, upon the defence at Alton:

Lib. 7: 191. "5. That in resorting to arms, in the last extremity, to put down the implacable, seditious, and desperate enemies of public order, liberty and humanity, and to defend his property and life rather than succumb to their 'reign of terror,'— being cruelly deserted, as he was, by the civil and military authorities

[1] "Lovejoy was certainly a martyr," said Mr. Garrison later (*Lib.* 8: 3), "but, strictly speaking, he was not — at least in our opinion — a *Christian* martyr. He died like Warren, not like Stephen."

of the place,—he was amply justified by the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, by the example of our Revolutionary fathers, and by the applause which mankind have always bestowed upon those who have perished under similar circumstances; consequently, that for those who subscribe to that Declaration, and eulogize those patriotic sacrifices, to affect to be shocked at the brave and spirited defence made by Mr. Lovejoy, and on that account to consider his death as not deserving of peculiar sympathy or respect, is nothing better than base hypocrisy, cold-blooded insensibility, and atrocious malignity.

"6. That while it is not the province of this Board to determine for the friends of universal emancipation how far, or under what circumstances, it is right to use arms in self-defence; and while it is certain that no body of men have ever had a better right to do so than had Mr. Lovejoy and his associates, in view of the dreadful provocations and perils with which they were assailed; yet, as abolitionists, we are constrained to believe, that if the doctrine of non-resistance had been practically carried out by our brethren in Alton, as it has been by the friends of the colored race in Boston, New York, and many other places, a similar deliverance and victory would, in the providence of God, have been the result; or, if not, that the spilling of the blood of defenceless men would have produced a more thrilling and abiding effect."

More tersely, but with less satisfaction to many abolitionists, the New York Executive Committee's resolutions simply declared Lovejoy to have been slain "whilst engaged in defending his property and his rights in a manner justified by the laws of this and of all other civilized countries." It remained for Dr. Channing once more to confound moral distinctions and bestow indiscriminate censure, in a "Letter to Abolitionists" which, after having submitted it to his intimate friend and admirer—nay, his prompter at every stage of his anti-slavery progress, and never more so than in putting him forward to inaugurate the Faneuil Hall protest—Ellis Gray Loring, he offered to the *Liberator* for publication. On reading his confession that Lovejoy's "course was justified by the laws of his country, and by the

Lib. 7: 195.

Lib. 7: 207.

Lib. 7: 206, *and pamphlet.*

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established opinions and practices of the civilized world," while yet "a dangerous precedent had been given in the cause of humanity," one seemed to hear the echo of Mr. Garrison's own language, as cited above. But the moment Dr. Channing declared that the fact of Lovejoy's having fallen armed had kept him silent on the whole subject in his own pulpit, the singular weakness of this moral teacher became painfully apparent. He blamed the abolitionists because they had not with one voice disapproved the resort to arms. In this they had disappointed his expectations, remembering those non-resistance doctrines which had mitigated his objection to their organization. Not that he shared these doctrines, or that a man might not sometimes defend himself forcibly; "but it may be laid down as a rule hardly admitting an exception, that an enterprise of Christian philanthropy is not to be carried on by force; that it is time for philanthropy to stop when it can only advance by wading through blood." He concluded that the abolitionists had exchanged their peaceful weapons for the sword, falsely assuming that they had recommended non-resistance to any others than the slaves. He exhorted them (as if it were a novelty) to try the peace principle and not to abandon it.

Ante, p. 190.

Such a discourse seemed strange from the mouth of a man who had expressly called the citizens of Boston together to make known their sentiment in regard to the "murder . . . of a native of New England and citizen of the free State of Illinois, who fell *in defence of the freedom of the press*"; asking, "Is there no part of our country where a voice of power shall be lifted up in defence of rights incomparably more precious than the temporary interests which have often crowded Faneuil Hall to suffocation?" and answering, "There are, indeed, in various places, meetings of anti-slavery societies to express their sorrow for a fallen brother; *but in these we take no part.*" Was it, then, peculiarly incumbent on abolitionists to condemn Lovejoy for an act which

Lib. 7: 198.

by accident related to slavery, and which Dr. Channing (in his public capacity) insisted on reviewing abstractly? CHAP. III. 1837.

But this was not the whole of the "clerical appeal" for which the *Liberator's* hospitality was entreated by Dr. Channing. Having got the floor, on one pretext, he drifted into his now trite general censure of the abolitionists — their harsh language, violation of Christian charity for Christian slaveholders (calling them robbers and excluding them from church privileges), etc.— which, as usual, was almost as pointedly directed against Mr. Garrison as if the latter had been named. As the hurricane is better than stagnation, "so," rejoined the editor, "this letter, though it is defective in principle, false in its charity, and inconsistent in its reasoning, will doubtless prove useful to the cause of dying humanity. . . . Its spirit is complacent and amicable; its purpose unquestionably good." Still, it was an anti-climax to his letter to the citizens of Boston. Dr. Channing was not yet qualified to instruct abolitionists in the "peace principle." In effect he had argued that "a cause which is *not* benevolent will authorize the shedding of blood without guilt; that which *is*, will not" — a nice distinction, truly. Why were abolitionists "obligated to allow themselves to be torn to pieces by human tigers any more than others," and why might they not fight for liberty like others? Mr. Garrison concluded his review by some fatal "moral cross-readings" from Dr. Channing's incoherent and contradictory utterances on the subject of slavery. *Lib.* 7: 206.

In the same number of the *Liberator*, the editor had the gratification of publishing the accession to the cause of a man whose services to it were destined far to outweigh those of any clerical critic, whether Orthodox or Unitarian. It would be hard to say — happily, it is needless to decide — whether Wendell Phillips or Edmund Quincy showed the greater self-abnegation, the greater "integrity of mind and moral independence," in quitting

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his fashionable, respectable, Bostonian-aristocratic associations, to cast in his lot with the Garrisonian "fanatics." Mr. Quincy was a son of Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard University (of which institution he was himself a graduate [1]), and a descendant of that Edmund Quincy who was among the earliest and the weightiest settlers of Boston. Like Mr. Phillips, he was a member of the Suffolk bar; unlike him, he belonged to the Unitarian connection. The following letters speak for themselves:

Edmund Quincy to Henry G. Chapman.

Lib. 7:207.

BOSTON, November 23, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR: I enclose a check for fifteen dollars, being my life subscription to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. I am informed that you are the proper person to be addressed on this subject, and you will oblige me by adding my name to the number of your subscribers.

I do not know whether or not a conversation which I had with you, a Sunday or two ago, touching Mr. Garrison's course about the "Clerical Appeal," dwells in your memory or not; if it does, I would embrace this opportunity to take back all that I then said on the subject. I was then under a total misapprehension of the nature of the case, and of the motives by which he was actuated. I have since been enlightened on both these points, and believe that I now do full justice to the elevated character of his motives in that instance, as in all the rest of his public conduct; and his course, as I now understand it, meets with my most cordial approbation. Pray excuse my troubling you on so insignificant an occasion as any change in my opinions on this or any other subject. I make this acknowledgment solely for my individual satisfaction; for the next best thing to not having been in an error at all, is to acknowledge it as soon as one finds out one's mistake.

I am, dear sir, very faithfully, your friend and servant,

EDMUND QUINCY.

[1] In 1827, four years before Mr. Phillips. Both, again, were sons of ex-mayors of Boston. See Mr. Garrison's appreciation of Mr. Quincy's self-sacrifice in *Lib.* 18:2.

Edmund Quincy to Henry G. Chapman.

BOSTON, November 27, 1837. *Lib.* 7: 207.

Nov. 25, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR: I received your kind letter on Saturday with the accompanying Certificate, and should have answered it immediately, had not your most unexpected request for the publication of my letter to you demanded time for mature consideration. My first impulse was, after thanking you for the favorable opinion which it implied, absolutely to decline it, as most repugnant to all my tastes and habits. And I confess that, after well weighing the matter, I can hardly conceive that "the early and toil-worn friends of the cause," as you well describe them, can derive any support or encouragement from the approbation of their course expressed by one of whose existence, from the retired habits of his life, they have probably never heard. Upon this point, however, you are much more competent to judge than I am; and if the publication of my letter, or anything else that I can say or do, can give the least pleasure to those admirable men, or the smallest assistance to the cause, I should hold myself inexcusable should I withhold it. And perhaps, too, upon my entrance on this new scene of duty, the sacrifice of a possibly false delicacy is not too great a one to make as an initiatory offering. My letter is, therefore, at your disposal, to do with it as you see fit.

From the first agitation of the slavery question, I have admired, and on all suitable occasions vindicated, the spirit and constancy with which the abolitionists defended their own rights, and maintained those of their oppressed countrymen; for a long time past, I have fully assented to the doctrines of the Anti-Slavery Society — the sinfulness of the slave system, and the consequent duty and expediency of its immediate abolition; but I confess that I have arrived very slowly, and I am afraid I might say reluctantly, at the conclusion, that the course pursued by Mr. Garrison and the other true friends of the cause was in accordance with the dictates either of human wisdom or Christian charity. A more accurate knowledge, however, of what their course has really been, and of the difficulties which they have had to encounter; a constantly increasing sense of the enormous wickedness of degrading the children of God and the brethren of Christ into the condition of beasts of burden; and, above all, the contemplation of the example set before us by the Great Captain of our Salvation, in the

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warfare which He waged against the venerable sins and time-hallowed iniquities which He found, at His advent, reigning in the high places of the earth — these considerations, among others, have satisfied me that I was wrong, and that they were right.

I have deferred too long enrolling my name on the list of that noble army which, for seven years past, has maintained the Right, and gallantly defended the cause of our common Humanity, undismayed by danger and undeterred by obloquy; but I hope that in whatever fields yet remain to be fought, you will find me in the thickest of the fray, at the side of our veteran chiefs, whether the warfare is directed against the open hostility of professed foes, or the more dangerous attacks of hollow friends.

I am, dear sir, with sentiments of the truest respect and friendship, very truly yours,

EDMUND QUINCY.

On the national stage the anti-slavery contest was marked by the resistance offered in Congress to the gag upon the right of petition and to the rapid progress of the movement to annex Texas. In both these assaults upon the liberties of the North, John Quincy Adams was the conspicuous hero of the defence, though for the public sentiment — even in his own district — which backed and cheered him, he was indebted mainly to the unceasing efforts of the abolitionists, between whom and himself there began to be privately as near an approximation as his repugnance to some of their objects and methods, his great caution, and the strenuous opposition of his household, permitted.[1] Lundy, in particular, had

Ante, p. 127.

[1] See his Diary for April 19, July 29, Aug. 23, Sept. 1, 1837. Mr. Garrison writes to G. W. Benson, on June 14: "Whittier has just gone to New York, to relieve Stanton from the drudgery of epistolary correspondence, and enable him to come to Massachusetts for a few weeks, in order to complete the victory commenced last year — revolutionize John Quincy Adams' district — drive the Texas question, etc. Stanton is the Napoleon of our cause. Mr. Adams is now at Quincy. He has lately had quite a 'visitation' from several abolition fanatics, and received them all with respect and cordiality. First, James G. Birney and Francis Jackson had a long interview with him — then John G. Whittier and W. L. Garrison — then Angelina E. and Sarah M. Grimké — and then Wm. Goodell. I will

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been most useful to him in imparting his special knowledge of the condition of Texas.[1] The reader must seek elsewhere an account of the most turbulent and thrilling scene ever witnessed in the House of Representatives, when the guilty conscience of the South trembled at the shadow of a petition from slaves submitted by Mr. Adams, and drove the Southern members into a three days' frenzy—impotent at last to expel or even to censure the man whose age and past office alone saved him from summary violence. Enough that the House formally denied the Constitutional right of slaves to petition; that it suffered the Speaker to rule out, under the gag, petitions protesting against the annexation of Texas because of the existence of slavery *there;* that both Houses hastened the recognition of Texan independence, and that the Government despatched an army to the frontier as a menace to Mexico; that in December the Southern members theatrically left the House of Representatives in a body when William Slade, of Vermont, presenting a petition for the abolition of slavery in the District, moved (the gag-rule having again lapsed) its reference to the proper committee, with instructions to report a bill; that, after an excited caucus, a fresh gag[2] was hastily imposed for the new session; and that Calhoun introduced in the Senate resolutions declaring the suppression of the anti-slavery agitation a Government duty in the interest of "domestic tranquillity," and opposition to the increase of slave territory an attempt to impair the equality of the States under the Constitution, as in effect disfranchising the slaveholding States.

Lib. 7:27, 30, 31, 33, 69; *May's Recollections p.* 211; *Morse's Life of J.Q.Adams, p.* 270.

Lib. 7:34.

Lib. 7:28, 36.

Lib. 7:43.

Lib. 7:87.

Lib. 7:211.

Lib. 8:15, 9:30.

Lib. 8:3, 7, 11, 13, 14.

you something about these visits hereafter." For Mr. Adams's own drafts on the abolitionists for support, see p. 77 of the pamphlet edition of H. B. Stanton's Remarks in the Representatives' Hall, Feb. 23, 24, 1837.

[1] See Mr. Adams's Diary for July 11, 1836, and Sept. 1, 1837, and his manuscript letters to Lundy of May 12, May 20, and June 2–6, 1836; also the 'Life of Lundy,' pp. 188, 295. Lundy's last visit to Texas (his third) had been in 1834–35, July 8 to April 5 ('Life,' pp. 112–188).

[2] Called Patton's, after the mover, a Virginian. It forbade even the *reading* of the petitions. It was summarily adopted by the "previous question" on Dec. 21, 1837.

In these sentiments of his old opponent Ex-President
Lib. 7:43, 99. Jackson had fully concurred on withdrawing from public life in a farewell address. His successor had, in his first
Lib. 7:42, 69. message, pledged himself anew to defeat any measure having in view the freedom of the District.[1] From these summits the policy of repression expanded downwards.
Lib. 7:61. The Washington *National Intelligencer* voluntarily padlocked its own lips, agreeing to exclude all discussion of slavery from its columns except as occurring in the
Lib. 7:66. Congressional proceedings. The press of the District generally garbled even these. Elsewhere, editors began
Lib. 7:19. injuriously to misreport the speeches at anti-slavery meetings.[2] And finally, the churches, not to be behind the politicians in the race of subserviency to the sum of all villanies, each in its own way endeavored to smother the voices raised on behalf of the slave. The mode, for example, adopted by the Presbyterian General Assembly
Lib. 7:103. at Philadelphia, in June, was to lay all anti-slavery papers of every kind on the table without reading and without debate. And so ends the year of the Pastoral Letter and the Clerical Appeal.

[1] On this, Mr. Adams had prophetically commented in one of his impassioned letters to his constituents (*Lib.* 7: 36, 56, 57, 61, 66, 69, and pamphlet), that as a "pledge that the whole influence, official and personal, of the President of the United States shall be applied to sustain and perpetuate the institution of slavery, it is a melancholy prognostic of a new system of administration, of which the dearest interests of New England will be the first victims, and of which the ultimate result can be no other than the dissolution of the Union." "Children of Carver, and Bradford, and Winslow, and Alden!" concluded the "old man eloquent," "—— the pen drops from my hand" (*Lib.* 7: 69).

[2] Hezekiah Niles had already thought it expedient to suppress names as well as utterances. "Such wretches as Garrison and Denison," the Savannah *Georgian* had exclaimed in its article on negro slavery of June 19, 1833, copied into the *Register* (44: 295) with blanks and this apology: "The names of the persons here inserted are not worth preserving, and we have *dashed* them out."

CHAPTER IV.

PENNSYLVANIA HALL. — THE NON-RESISTANCE SOCIETY.—1838.

SHALL we say that with his eighth volume the editor of the *Liberator* turned over a new leaf? Cutting loose from his embarrassing connection with the treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, he resumed the right to conduct his paper without regard to official or private susceptibilities — himself alone the judge of what it was proper to say, or to let others say, in its columns; of what proportion of its space and his attention should be given to abolition, or to the other reforms which he had, and had long had, at heart. This was, in fact, rather a return than a new departure, though he had never renounced his editorial independence. Still, the occasion called for a new manifesto, which, in the form of a prospectus, was published with the signatures of the old partners, Garrison and Knapp, in the *Liberator* of December 15, 1837. Despite its length, the greater part of this important document must be given here. Thus it began:

Ante, 1: 103, 201.

"The termination of the present year will complete the seventh volume of the *Liberator:* we have served, therefore, a regular apprenticeship in the cause of LIBERTY, and are now prepared to advocate it upon a more extended scale.

Lib. 7: 203.

"In commencing this publication, we had but a single object in view — the total abolition of American slavery, and, as a just consequence, the complete enfranchisement of our colored countrymen. As the first step towards this sublime result, we found the overthrow of the American Colonization Society to be indispensable,— containing, as it did, in its organization, all the elements of prejudice, caste, and slavery.

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"In entering upon our eighth volume, the abolition of slavery will still be the grand object of our labors, though not, perhaps, so exclusively as heretofore. There are other topics which, in our opinion, are intimately connected with the great doctrine of inalienable human rights; and which, while they conflict with no religious sect, or political party, as such, are pregnant with momentous consequences to the freedom, equality, and happiness of mankind. These we shall discuss as time and opportunity may permit.

"The motto upon our banner has been, from the commencement of our moral warfare, 'OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD — OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.' We trust that it will be our only epitaph. Another motto we have chosen is, UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. Up to this time we have limited its application to those who are held in this country, by Southern taskmasters, as marketable commodities, goods and chattels, and implements of husbandry. Henceforth we shall use it in its widest latitude: the emancipation of our whole race from the dominion of man, from the thraldom of self, from the government of brute force, from the bondage of sin — and bringing them under the dominion of God, the control of an inward spirit, the government of the law of love, and into the obedience and liberty of Christ, who is '*the same*, yesterday, TO-DAY, and forever.'

"It has never been our design, in conducting the *Liberator*, to require of the friends of emancipation any political or sectarian shibboleth; though, in consequence of the general corruption of all political parties and religious sects, and of the obstacles which they have thrown into the path of emancipation, we have been necessitated to reprove them all. Nor have we any intention,—at least, not while ours professes to be an anti-slavery publication, distinctively and eminently,—to assail or give the preference to any sect or party. We are bound by no denominational trammels; we are not political partisans; we have taken upon our lips no human creed; we are guided by no human authority; we cannot consent to wear the livery of any fallible body. The abolition of American slavery we hold to be COMMON GROUND, upon which men of all creeds, complexions and parties, if they have true humanity in their hearts, may meet on amicable and equal terms to effect a common object. But whoever marches on to that ground, loving his creed, or sect, or party, or any worldly interest, or personal reputation or property, or friends, or wife, or children, or life

itself, more than the cause of bleeding humanity,—or expecting to promote his political designs, or to enforce his sectarian dogmas, or to drive others from the ranks on account of their modes of faith,—will assuredly prove himself to be unworthy of his abolition profession, and his real character will be made manifest to all, for severe and unerring tests will be applied frequently: it will not be possible for him to make those sacrifices, or to endure those trials, which unbending integrity to the cause will require. For ourselves, we care not who is found upon this broad platform of our common nature: if he will join hands with us, in good faith, to undo the heavy burdens and break the yokes of our enslaved countrymen, we shall not stop to inquire whether he is a Trinitarian or Unitarian, Baptist or Methodist, Catholic or Covenanter, Presbyterian or Quaker, Swedenborgian or Perfectionist. However widely we may differ in our views on other subjects, we shall not refuse to labor with him against slavery, in the same phalanx, if he refuse not to labor with us. Certainly no man can truly affirm that we have sought to bring any other religious or political tests into this philanthropic enterprise than these:—'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'—'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them'—'Remember those in bonds as bound with them.' . . .

"Next to the overthrow of slavery, the cause of PEACE will command our attention. The doctrine of non-resistance as commonly received and practised by Friends, and certain members of other religious denominations, we conceive to be utterly indefensible in its application to national wars:—not that it 'goes too far,' but that it does not go far enough. If a nation may not redress its wrongs by physical force—if it may not repel or punish a foreign enemy who comes to plunder, enslave or murder its inhabitants—then it may not resort to arms to quell an insurrection, or send to prison or suspend upon a gibbet any transgressors upon its soil. If the slaves of the South have not an undoubted right to rēsist their masters in the last resort, then no man, or body of men, may appeal to the law of violence in self-defence—for none have ever suffered, or can suffer, more than they. If, when men are robbed of their earnings, their liberties, their personal ownership, their wives and children, they may not resist, in no case can physical resistance be allowable, either in an individual or collective capacity.

"Now the doctrine we shall endeavor to inculcate is, that the kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdoms of our

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Lord and of his Christ; consequently, that they are all to be supplanted, whether they are called despotic, monarchical, or republican, and he only who is King of kings, and Lord of lords, is to rule in righteousness. The kingdom of God is to be established IN ALL THE EARTH, and it shall never be destroyed, but it shall 'BREAK IN PIECES AND CONSUME ALL OTHERS:' its elements are righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost: without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolators, and whatsoever loveth and maketh a lie. Its government is one of love, not of military coercion or physical restraint: its laws are not written upon parchment, but upon the hearts of its subjects — they are not conceived in the wisdom of man, but framed by the Spirit of God: its weapons are not carnal, but spiritual. Its soldiers are clad in the whole armor of God, having their loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness; their feet are shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; with the shield of faith they are able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, and they wear the helmet of salvation, and wield the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. Hence, when smitten on the one cheek, they turn the other also; being defamed, they entreat; being reviled, they bless; being persecuted, they suffer it; they take joyfully the spoiling of their goods; they rejoice, inasmuch as they are partakers of Christ's sufferings; they are sheep in the midst of wolves; in no extremity whatever, even if their enemies are determined to nail them to the cross with Jesus, and if they, like him, could summon legions of angels to their rescue, will they resort to the law of violence.

"As to the governments of this world, whatever their titles or forms, we shall endeavor to prove that, in their essential elements, and as at present administered, they are all Anti-Christ; that they can never, by human wisdom, be brought into conformity to the will of God; that they cannot be maintained except by naval and military power; that all their penal enactments, being a dead letter without an army to carry them into effect, are virtually written in human blood; and that the followers of Jesus should instinctively shun their stations of honor, power, and emolument — at the same time 'submitting to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake,' and offering no *physical* resistance to any of their mandates, however unjust or tyrannical. The language of Jesus is, 'My kingdom is not of this world, else would my servants fight.'

Calling his disciples to him, he said to them, 'Ye know that they which are accustomed to rule over the Gentiles, exercise lordship over them; and their great ones exercise authority upon them. *But so it* SHALL NOT *be among* YOU; but whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister; and whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all. For even the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.'

"Human governments are to be viewed as judicial punishments. If a people turn the grace of God into lasciviousness, or make their liberty an occasion for anarchy,—or if they refuse to belong to the 'one fold and one Shepherd,'—they shall be scourged by governments of their own choosing, and burdened with taxation, and subjected to physical control, and torn by factions, and made to eat the fruit of their evil doings, until they are prepared to receive the liberty and the rest which remain, on earth as well as in heaven, for THE PEOPLE OF GOD. This is in strict accordance with the arrangement of Divine Providence.

"So long as men contemn the perfect government of the Most High, and will not fill up the measure of Christ's sufferings in their own persons, just so long will they desire to usurp authority over each other—just so long will they pertinaciously cling to human governments, *fashioned in the likeness and administered in the spirit of their own disobedience.* Now, if the prayer of our Lord be not a mockery; if the Kingdom of God is to come universally, and his will to be done ON EARTH AS IT IS IN HEAVEN; and if, in that kingdom, no carnal weapon can be wielded, and swords are beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and there is none to molest or make afraid, and no statute-book but the Bible, and no judge but Christ; then why are not Christians obligated to come out NOW, and be separate from 'the kingdoms of this world,' which are all based upon THE PRINCIPLE OF VIOLENCE, and which require their officers and servants to govern and be governed by that principle? . . .

"These are among the views we shall offer in connection with the heaven-originated cause of PEACE,—views which any person is at liberty to controvert in our columns, and for which no man or body of men is responsible but ourselves. If any man shall affirm that the anti-slavery cause, as such, or any anti-slavery society, is answerable for our sentiments on this subject, to him may be justly applied the apostolic declaration,

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'the truth is not in him.' We regret, indeed, that the principles of abolitionists seem to be quite unsettled upon a question of such vast importance, and so vitally connected with the bloodless overthrow of slavery. It is time for all our friends to know where they stand. If those whose yokes they are endeavoring to break by the fire and hammer of God's word, would not, in their opinion, be justified in appealing to physical force, how can they justify others of a different complexion in doing the same thing? And if they conscientiously believe that the slaves would be guiltless in shedding the blood of their merciless oppressors, let them say so unequivocally — for there is no neutral ground in this matter, and the time is near when they will be compelled to take sides.

"As our object is *universal* emancipation,—to redeem woman as well as man from a servile to an equal condition,—we shall go for the RIGHTS OF WOMAN to their utmost extent."

Such was the first outcome of Mr. Garrison's "Perfectionism," whose agreement, be it more or less—or not at all—with Noyes's, it is needless to discuss here. "Perfectionism" is a dark subject, and attempts to throw light upon it may easily end in leaving it more obscure than ever. Mrs. Child, for example, wrote to her brother, December 22, 1838:

Letters, p. 33.

"Something is coming toward us (I know not what), with a glory round its head, and its long luminous rays are even now glancing on the desert and the rock. The Unitarian, busily at work pulling down old structures, suddenly sees it gild some ancient pillar, or shed its soft light on some moss-grown altar; and he stops with a troubled doubt whether *all* is to be destroyed; and if destroyed, wherewith shall he build anew? He looks upward for the coming dawn, and calls it Transcendentalism. The Calvinist, at work with strong arm and sincere heart at his fiery forge, fashioning the melted metal in time-honored moulds, sees a light before which his fires grow dim, and the moulded forms seem rigid and uncouth. Perplexed, he asks if the martyred fathers *did* die for a faith that must be thrown aside like a useless stove of last year's patent. His grim iron forms return no answer, for there is not in them that which *can* answer the earnest questionings of the human soul. He too looks upward, sees the light, and calls it Perfectionism."

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As a definition, this does not help matters much, even when illumined by the fact that both Perfectionism and Transcendentalism, as applied to the conduct of life, led up to socialism—the Oneida Community and Brook Farm. The passage just quoted, however, does bear upon the charge of fanaticism already brought by Elizur Wright against Mr. Garrison. No one has accused Dr. Channing of being a fanatic because he gave the initial impulse to the Brook Farm experiment. Nobody saw fanaticism in that portion of his letter to the abolitionists in which he said: "The liberation of three millions of slaves is indeed a noble object; but a greater work is the diffusion of principles by which every yoke is to be broken, every government to be regenerated, and a liberty more precious than civil or political is to be secured to the world." This, coming a week after Mr. Garrison's prospectus, sounds like a plagiarism, or, regarded as (what it was meant to be) an exhortation and a rebuke, like a jest. So does the patronizing repetition of the idea a few periods later:

Atlantic Monthly, Oct., 1883, *p.* 534.

Lib. 7: 206.

"I am not discouraged by the fact that this great truth ["the unutterable worth of every human being"] has been espoused most earnestly by a party which numbers in its ranks few great names. . . . The less prosperous classes furnish the world with its reformers and martyrs. These, however, from imperfect culture, are apt to narrow themselves to one idea,[1] to fasten their eyes on a single evil, to lose the balance of their minds, to kindle with a feverish enthusiasm. Let such remember that no man should take on himself the office of a reformer whose zeal in a particular cause is not tempered by extensive sympathies and universal love."[2]

Lib. 6: 206.

[1] At this very moment (Dec. 21, 1837) the Quaker Charles Marriott was writing from Hudson, N. Y., to Mr. Garrison: "We are sorry to hear of the indisposition of our dear sisters Grimké at our kind friend Samuel Philbrick's. They have sown much good seed on other subjects besides abolition. The charge that abolitionists are persons of but *one idea* is pretty well passed off" (MS.)

[2] Compare Follen's letter to Channing, Jan. 12, 1837, commending the Grimkés, who "devote themselves entirely to the great work of universal emancipation. . . . They are free from the prejudices of those abolitionists who think that the cause can be promoted only in their way; their

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Almost in the same words, but after an interval of seven years (March 3, 1844), Emerson, in a discourse criticising the "New England Reformers," held up an ideal which was like nothing so much as Mr. Garrison's "Perfectionism":

> "The criticism and attack on institutions which we have witnessed has made one thing plain, that society gains nothing whilst a man, not himself renovated, attempts to renovate things around him: he has become tediously good in some particular, but negligent or narrow in the rest; and hypocrisy and vanity are often the disgusting result. It is handsomer to remain in the establishment better than the establishment, and conduct that in the best manner, than to make a sally against evil by some single improvement, without supporting it by a total regeneration."

At a date (December 2, 1841) still nearer the one which now engages us, Mr. Emerson, again in a critical mood, offered this unconscious justification of Mr. Garrison's course — this echo of his prospectus — in a "Lecture on the Times": "There is," he said, "a perfect chain — see it, or see it not — of reforms emerging from the surrounding darkness, each cherishing some part of the general idea; and all must be seen in order to do justice to any one. . . . How trivial seem the contests of the abolitionist whilst he aims merely at the circumstance of the slave."

It remains to observe that Noyes's anti-government notions, though accepted by Mr. Garrison, had a very different origin and development.[1] The latter connected them with his views of *Peace* (already derived from the New Testament), in a way which Noyes never did or cared to do. The logical extension of the doctrine of non-resistance must have come, in a mind like Mr. Garrison's, sooner or later. Noyes probably hastened the process, having reached the same goal by Scriptural

views of social reform extend far beyond the grossest form of servitude as it exists at the South" ('Life of Chas. Follen,' p. 430).

[1] For the "secret history" of New Haven Perfectionism, see Noyes's *Witness* (Ithaca, N. Y., May 16, 1838).

conclusions as to the second coming of Christ and the doctrine of "holiness." But Noyes's scheme of human regeneration involved a species of church organization, with the Bible as interpreted by himself for authority — in other words, had a purely sectarian basis. How distinct this was from Mr. Garrison's method, will appear later on. CHAP. IV. 1838.

We return to the prospectus, in which the following passage regards the material outlook of the *Liberator* for the coming year. It was prefaced by a fresh allusion to the disadvantage of competition with the *Emancipator*, sustained by the Parent Society, and the *Friend of Man*, sustained by the New York State Society, and consequently afforded at a lower rate:

"Though not yet sufficient to cover all expenses, the circulation of the *Liberator* is, we believe, as extensive as that of any other anti-slavery journal in this country; and it gives us great satisfaction to state, (and we presume the information will not be less gratifying to our numerous friends), that, notwithstanding the multiplication of other abolition papers, and the semi-abolition character which, we rejoice to say, many of the political and some of the religious newspapers are assuming — notwithstanding the ungenerous attempt, on the part of certain professed abolitionists, to injure if they could not suppress the *Liberator*, by seeking an unprovoked and acrimonious sectarian quarrel with it — our subscription-list has steadily augmented during the present year, and particularly for the last six months, with voluntary subscribers. *Lib.* 7: 203.

"The pecuniary liabilities of the *Liberator*, as to the printing department, will hereafter be assumed by the publisher; and as it is doubtful whether (aside from the editor's stipend) he will be enabled to meet more than his current expenses, the editor will look for a bare support for himself and family to other, though as yet unknown, sources. The same good Providence which has thus far sustained him will still supply his necessities, if he fail not in well-doing."[1]

[1] For example, on New Year's day, 1837, Mr. Garrison received the following letter from Miss Ann Greene Chapman, sister of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, enclosing one hundred dollars:

"MUCH ESTEEMED FRIEND: My father has given me the pleasant commission of offering you in his name the congratulations of the New Year,

Mar. 2, 1838. The typographical appearance of the paper was improved in the ninth number of the new volume by an enlargement of the pictorial heading. The old conception (rather than the old design) of a slave auction at the national capital was retained, but beside it was placed a scene of busy labor and rejoicing as the sun rose upon an emancipated race. This scene was shortly to be realized in the British West Indies.

MS. Jan. 20, 1838, W. L. G. to Mrs. Sarah Benson. Mr. Garrison's family expenses and responsibilities were increased in January by the birth of a son, named for himself, in Boston, while he was without a home of his own. Later, upon the death of the wife of Amos A. Phelps,[1] he was glad to relieve the latter of his unexpired lease of the furnished house at No. 2 Nassau Court (known as Seaver Place since 1844), in agreeable proximity to the home of his friend Francis Jackson. In the meanwhile, the usual summer retreat to Brooklyn was made in June, at which time the *Liberator* was again entrusted to the competent hands of Oliver Johnson for the space of three months. Mr. Garrison's bodily condition was worse than it had been in the two previous years. His whole head was sick, even his eyes being attacked, and at last his right hand,—as if to preclude

Lib. 8:95, 158.

and of requesting your acceptance of the enclosed as a slight proof of the high regard he feels for your noble devotion to the cause of human freedom. Whilst we slept over the woes of the slave and the endangered rights of the freeman, you were awake and active, sounding the note of warning which has at last roused the entire nation. We thank you for the welcome you have given us to be fellow-laborers with you in this holy cause. May this year be one of cheerful self-denial, of energetic action, of successful exertion, to us all. Then, whether sickness or health, joy or sorrow, life or death, be our allotted portion, it will be a Happy New Year."

Death was the allotted portion of the lamented writer of these lines, in the short space of three months, and, as she made her will on February 1, must have been foreseen when writing to Mr. Garrison. She made liberal bequests to the American A. S. Society and to the Boston Female A. S. Society (*Lib.* 7:59). A poetic tribute to her memory, from the pen of Mr. Garrison, dated Boston, Oct. 27, 1837, was published in the *Liberty Bell* for 1839.

[1] Aug. 31, 1838. Charlotte Phelps was the first president of the Boston Female A. S. Society (*Lib.* 8:143).

him utterly from continuing his editorial work. With difficulty in January could he complete his annual report to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and it was delivered piecemeal fresh from composition.[1] In March, by the urgent advice of his brother-in-law, he took several "courses" of drugs and sweating at a Thomsonian infirmary. But his best medicine was change of air and of scene, even when attended with a very considerable amount of mental excitement. He did not miss the anniversary meeting in New York; nor was he spared the nervous strain of the climax of the Reign of Terror — the burning of Pennsylvania Hall. He delivered two elaborate addresses — one for the Fourth of July in Boston,[2] prepared at a week's notice from the Massachusetts Board, which found him lying on the bed with a slow fever; another for the first of August in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on the crowning event of that day, the voluntary abandonment of the apprenticeship system by Jamaica and the other British colonies, and the complete acceptance of emancipation.

MS. Jan. 15, 1838, W. L. G. to G. W. Benson.

MS. Mar. 10, April 7, 1838, W. L. G. to G. W. Benson.

Lib. 8:99, 109; *MS. June 28, 1838, W. L. G. to F. Jackson.*

Lib. 8:129, 132, 135.

He did not arrive in New York in season for the opening of the protracted meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, nor did he take any conspicuous part in the debates. He was named one of a committee to prepare a declaration concerning the common error that the anti-slavery enterprise was of a political, and not of a religious character. To his wife he writes from the metropolis on Monday, May 7, 1838:

Lib. 8:78.

"The debates in our meetings have been quite spirited on several topics. Alvan Stewart came pretty near carrying his

MS.

[1] The portion that dealt with the Clerical Appeal, not having been submitted for approval to the Board, was referred back by the Society, with instructions, in publishing, to retain the decided condemnation of that movement, while modifying, if necessary, any undue personal severity. On April 24, Mr. Garrison writes from Boston to S. J. May: "My annual report is at last out. Bro. Phelps wrote a protest against that part of it relating to the Clerical Appeal, and had it printed; but, I am happy to say, both for his own sake and the cause, has concluded to suppress it. More on this subject when I see you" (MS.)

[2] Printed in pamphlet form by Isaac Knapp.

Lib. 8:77. point, in opposition to Judge Jay, respecting an amendment of our Constitution.[1] I am glad, on the whole, he did not succeed, for a variety of reasons. The vote was a very close one, the leading abolitionists being about equally divided in opinion. With that exception, I believe all our resolutions have been adopted with great unanimity.

"Sectarianism has received another hearty blow at the hands of the delegates — particularly with reference to any new *Samuel Lee.* organization.[2] Our New Ipswich friend, Mr. Lee, has not opened his lips, nor any one on his side of the house. So far, therefore, 'all's well.'

"*Monday evening.*— I have just returned from a large meeting of the colored friends in Zion's Church, very many of whom were induced to attend by knowing that I would be present. The meeting was addressed by Beriah Green, Alvan Stewart, *John Cross.* Rev. Mr. Cross, Charles W. Denison, and myself. It was an interesting occasion. The manner in which these dear colored friends throng around me is very affecting to my feelings. Their expressions of attachment and gratitude are of the strongest kind. O what a reward for the very little I have done on their behalf!

May 8, 1838. "*Tuesday morning.*— . . . Speaking of the manifest regard which our colored friends cherish for me, it is pleasing to add, that, notwithstanding I am now known to entertain peculiar religious sentiments, hostile to all church organizations, etc., etc., yet I have been most kindly treated by all classes, ministers as well as laymen, among our white delegates. There is no evidence of coldness on the part of a single individual, but all take me by the hand with apparent cordiality."

On this same morning, Mr. Garrison had gone down to the Battery to meet his wife's sister Mary, and other delegates *en route* to Philadelphia, to attend the *Lib.* 8:47, 117. Annual Convention of American Anti-Slavery Women which had been called to meet in Pennsylvania Hall. He himself proceeded thither two days later:

[1] Namely, to strike out the clause of the 2d article which admits "that each State in which slavery exists has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to legislate in regard to its abolition in said State." The debate was carried on during four sessions (two days), and the final vote stood 46 yeas to 38 nays — less than a two-thirds majority.

[2] Resolutions introduced on motion of Oliver Johnson, and adopted unanimously (*Lib.* 8:77).

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

PHILADELPHIA, May 12, 1838. *MS.*

On Thursday morning, bro. H. C. Wright and myself left for this city, and arrived here at half-past 2 o'clock — J. G. Whittier and Rev. Mr. Root and wife being with us. Instead of going to James Mott,[1] (who I knew would be fully supplied with guests), at the earnest solicitation of bro. Wright I accompanied [him] to the house of a Quaker friend, named Edward Needles, who, with his excellent wife,[2] received us with unbounded cordiality. Here I have everything heart could wish. . . . On Thursday evening, a considerable number of sterling male and female friends came to see us, among whom were James Mott and wife, Sarah and A. E. Grimké, David Root and wife, etc., etc. Abolition, Peace, Woman's Rights, Holiness, were the fruitful and important themes of the evening, and, of course, our tongues were as busy as our hearts were warm. Friends are continually calling to see us. After breakfast yesterday (Friday) morning, I went to see the noble edifice which our friends have erected for free discussion, called "Pennsylvania Hall," which has just been completed, and in which all our meetings will be held next week. The hall is the largest in this city, and one of the most commodious in the republic. It will seat more than 2,000 persons, and is indeed honorable to the moral enterprise of the age.[3]

May 10, 1838.

May 11, 1838.

In the course of the forenoon, bro. Wright and I visited our beloved friends the Grimkés, and had considerable conversation about the approaching marriage. I frankly told Angelina my feelings, and expressed my fear that bro. Weld's sectarianism would bring her into bondage, unless she could succeed in emancipating *him*. She heard my remarks very pleasantly, and trusted the "experiment," as she termed it, would prove mutually serviceable. How far she will feel it her duty to comply with his sabbatical notions, observance of forms, church-going worship, etc., I do not know. When I asked her whether she should join with him in what is called "family worship," *i. e.*, formal offering of prayer, morning and evening,

Theodore D. Weld.

[1] Who had invited him (MS. Apr. 21, 1838, E. M. Davis to W. L. G.)

[2] Mary Hathaway Needles. She died Aug. 26, 1873. The home was at the corner of 12th and Race Streets.

[3] The Hall was erected on the southwest corner of Sixth and Haines Streets. Its estimated cost was $40,000, divided into two thousand shares of twenty dollars each. It was not intended to be used exclusively for anti-slavery purposes ('History of Pennsylvania Hall,' pp. 3–6).

CHAP. IV. 1838.

she answered in the affirmative. If so, I fear she will be prepared to go further. For I did hope that she had been led to see, that in Christ Jesus all stated observances are so many self-imposed and unnecessary yokes; and that prayer and worship are all embodied in that pure, meek, childlike state of heart which affectionately and reverently breathes but one petition — "Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven." Religion, dear Helen, is nothing but love — perfect love toward God and toward man — without formality, without hypocrisy, without partiality — depending upon no outward form to preserve its vitality or prove its existence. May you know its abiding operation.

May 11, 1838.

Last evening, I took tea with bro. Wright and the Grimkés at Robert Douglass's house (a colored friend), after which we went to hear Joseph John Gurney preach at the Arch-Street meeting-house. He is a distinguished orthodox Friend from England, with whom I became slightly acquainted in London. The spacious house was crowded to overflowing, but I derived no edification from the sermon, the object of which seemed to be to warn the young Friends not to fall into the Hicksite heresy. He is, in his personal appearance, a fine specimen of English corporosity, having "a fair round belly, with good capon lined." During his long and tedious harangue, he stood fixed like a statue, with his hands lazily flung behind him, and singing his badly enunciated words in the usual absurd and unnatural manner of Quaker preachers. Although he was a flaming abolitionist in England, he has acted in this country very much as Cox and Hoby did, having scarcely opened his lips since his arrival on the subject of slavery. He is very staid and formal in his movements, and, on sitting down at the conclusion of his discourse, manifested as much care as if he had a score of eggs under him. I went with bro. Wright, this morning, to see him; but, anticipating a visit from me, he obviously chose to be absent, and so our call was in vain. He leaves the city to-day. When will England send us another man, like George Thompson, able to stand erect on our slave-cursed soil?

Ante, 1:480.

May 12, 1838.

May 11, 1838.

Yesterday afternoon, a number of our abolition friends arrived from New York — among them Alvan Stewart, St. Clair, Mr. Fuller and wife, dear Mary, etc. On board the steamboat from Bordentown to Philadelphia, our friends obtained leave of the captain to hold a discussion in the cabin on slavery. Several slaveholders were on board. Alvan Stewart had not spoken more than a minute or two before they began

Alanson St. Clair; John E. Fuller; Mary Benson.

to shout, "Down with him! Hustle him out! Throw him overboard!" This induced the captain to break up the meeting, but our friends carried on the discussion in private parties until they arrived in the city. When I came on, I was introduced to a slaveholder of Alabama, who shook me by the hand with great courtesy. I took a severe cold by the way, and am very hoarse at present. . . . CHAP. IV. 1838.

I have received no letter from you since the one you sent by Mary, but shall expect one to-night, on the arrival of Mrs. Chapman, or by the next mail. My heart yearns to be with you and the dear babes, for, although I am happy here, I am always happier at home, by your own dear side, with my darling children in my arms. *Maria W. Chapman.*

The wedding between Theodore and Angelina will be consummated on Monday evening next. Neither Whittier nor any other Quaker can be present to witness the ceremony, on pain of excommunication from the Society of Friends. What an absurd and despotic rule! Sarah must be cut off for being with Angelina when married! Only think of it![1] *May 14, 1838.* *Sarah M. Grimké.*

A succinct account of the stirring events of the following week is contained in the following letter:

W. L. Garrison to Mrs. George Benson.

BOSTON, May 19, 1838. *MS.*

DEARLY BELOVED MOTHER: After an absence from home of nearly three weeks, I arrived here this morning, in much better condition, as to my health and spirits, than when I left. A kind Providence had taken care of my cherished wife and children. George has certainly grown taller, and little Willie looks finely. We have had great doings in Philadelphia, during the present week, which will make that city memorable. Some account will reach you, by the newspapers, before the arrival of this hasty letter; and, fearing that it may serve to create uneasiness at Brooklyn as to my personal safety, I seize my pen — tired as I am — to say, that, although Satan has come down in great wrath in the "city of brotherly love," knowing that his time is short, yet he has not been permitted to harm a hair of our heads.

[1] It is characteristic of the time that the bridal guests at this ceremony were reported in the public prints to have consisted of six whites and six blacks (*Lib.* 8:91)!

May 14, 1838. On Monday last, the Pennsylvania Hall, a very large and beautiful building just erected, principally by the abolitionists of Philadelphia, was dedicated to Free Discussion, Virtue, Liberty and Independence, in an eloquent address by David Paul Brown of that city, an eminent lawyer, though not a sound abolitionist.[1] The anti-slavery delegates of men and women occupied the hall several times, and had large and interesting meetings.[2] On Wednesday evening, the public were informed that Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Maria W. Chapman of Boston, and Angelina E. Grimké Weld would address the people in that hall. There was an immense audience on the occasion — some drawn there for deeds of violence, others to gratify their curiosity by seeing the speakers, especially "the notorious Garrison," your "fanatical" son-in-law; but the greater portion evidently came to hear the cause of human rights pleaded in good old Saxon language. The floor of the

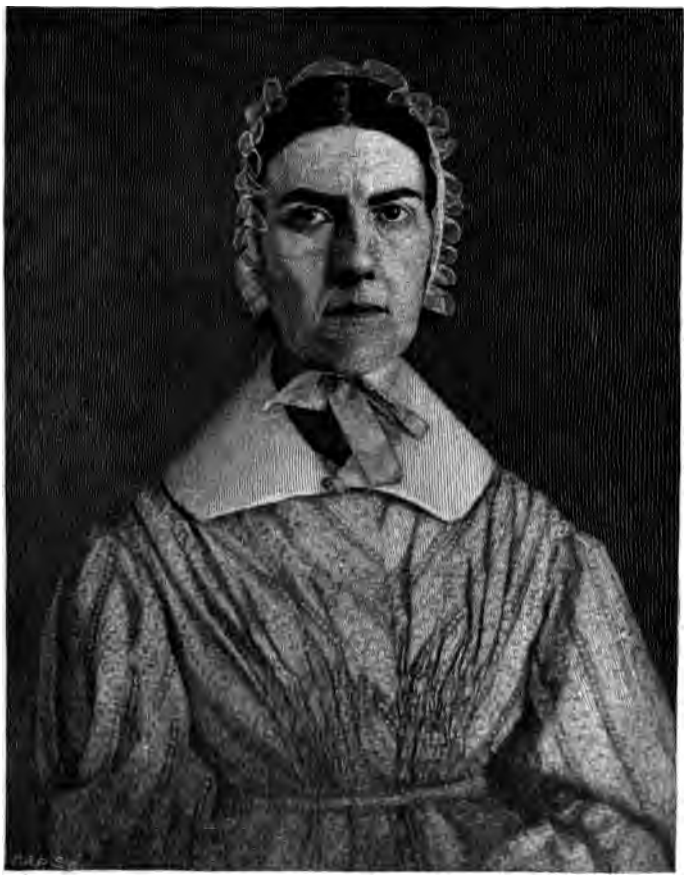
History of Penn. Hall, p. 13.

May 16, 1838.

History of Penn. Hall, p. 117.

[1] From proper denunciations of slavery in the beginning of his oration, Mr. Brown passed to the enumeration of several ways in which emancipation might be gradually effected, with the co-operation of the slave-owners. On the two occasions on which Mr. Garrison spoke during the four days' proceedings at the Hall, he devoted himself to censure of this departure from the standard of immediatism. In the forenoon of the second day (Tuesday, May 15), while sitting as a spectator in the back part of the gallery, he was "loudly called for from all parts of the house. Finding the audience would not be satisfied, he stepped to the front part of the gallery, and, in a modest and respectful manner, requested to be excused from speaking on account of the state of his health." But, not being released, he began to speak from the gallery, and then, yielding to fresh entreaties, at last took the platform. Connecting the expulsion of the Cherokees, which had been the topic of the morning, with slavery, its cause, he turned suddenly upon the speech of the day before. "This hall, Mr. Chairman, needs a new dedication. The eloquent gentleman who yesterday stood as the priest at the altar, and performed solemn dedicatory services, . . . considered it blasphemy to say that slavery was right and in accordance with the Scriptures; and yet, in the very next breath, he talked about legislating for its *future* overthrow, and declared that he was opposed to its immediate abolition! Sir, if there be a neck to that discourse, I would say, let a stone be tied around it, and let it be sunk in the depths of the sea. . . . The latter part of it neutralized all the good that had been said; it contained poison enough to kill all the colored men on earth. All that the slaveholders require to enable them to hold their slaves in interminable bondage, was to be found in that speech. . . . Sir, this hall must surely be rebaptized. Let us, during the meetings of this week, wash out this stain of reproach." This was likewise the burden of Mr. Garrison's remarks on the evening of the third day, but much more in detail ('History of Pennsylvania Hall,' pp. 69–75, 117–122).

[2] Temperance addresses were also delivered, and the Philadelphia Lyceum held its mild literary exercises in the Hall.



A B Grimké

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hall was densely crowded with women, some of the noblest specimens of our race, a large proportion of whom were Quakers. The side aisles and spacious galleries were as thickly filled with men. Nearly three thousand people were in the hall. There seemed to be no visible symptoms of a riot.[1] When I rose to speak, I was greeted with applause by the immense assembly, and also several times in the course of my remarks. As soon, however, as I had concluded my address, a furious mob broke into the hall, yelling and shouting as if the very fiends of the pit had suddenly broke loose. The audience rose in some confusion, and would undoubtedly have been broken up, had it not been for the admirable self-possession of some individuals, particularly the women. The mobocrats, finding that they could not succeed in their purpose, retreated into the streets, and, surrounding the building, began to dash in the windows with stones and brickbats. It was under these appalling circumstances that Mrs. Chapman rose, for the first time in her life, to address a promiscuous assembly of men and women — and she acquitted herself nobly. She spoke about ten minutes, and was succeeded by A. E. G. Weld, who occupied nearly an hour. As the tumult from without increased, and the brickbats fell thick and fast, (no one, however, being injured), her eloquence kindled, her eye flashed, and her cheeks glowed, as she devoutly thanked the Lord that the stupid repose of that city had at length been disturbed by the force of truth.[2] When she sat down, Esther Moore (a Friend)

History of Penn. Hall, p. 123.

Lib. 8 : 82.

History of Penn. Hall, p. 123.

Ibid., p. 123.

Ante, 1 : 398.

[1] Written placards, inciting thereto, however, had been posted in various parts of the city on the night of the 14th–15th; Wednesday morning being the appointed time of rendezvous. Accordingly, all that day the hall had been surrounded by a malevolent crowd ('History of Pennsylvania Hall,' pp. 136–138).

[2] Here may fitly be cited another passage from Mr. Garrison's censure of David Paul Brown on the previous morning (Tuesday, May 15): "I know, indeed, that some will consider the remarks of that gentleman as adapted to please all parties — to allay, in some measure, the prejudice that prevails against us and our holy cause. These are your men of 'caution,' and 'prudence,' and 'judiciousness.' Sir, I have learned to hate those words. Whenever we attempt to imitate our great Exemplar, and press the truth of God, in all its plainness, upon the conscience, why, we are very imprudent; because, forsooth, a great excitement will ensue. Sir, slavery will not be overthrown without excitement, a most tremendous excitement. And let me say, there is too much quietude in this city. It shows that the upholders of this wicked system have not yet felt that their favorite sin has been much endangered. You need, and must have, a moral earthquake, to startle, if it were possible, even the dead who are slumbering in

History of Penn. Hall, pp. 126, 127.

made a few remarks, then Lucretia Mott, and finally Abby Kelley, a noble young woman from Lynn.[1]

The meeting broke up about 10 o'clock, and we all got safely home. The next day, the street was thronged with profane ruffians and curious spectators — the women, however, holding their meetings[2] in the hall all day, till towards evening. It was given out by the mob, that the hall would be burnt to the ground that night. We were to have a meeting in the evening, but it was impossible to execute our purpose. The mayor induced the managers to give the keys of the building into his hands.

Ibid., p. 140.

He then locked the doors, and made a brief speech to the mob, assuring them that he had the keys, and that there would be no meeting, and requesting them to retire. He then went home, but the mob were bent on the destruction of the hall. They had now increased to several thousands, and soon got into

Ibid., p. 140.

the hall by dashing open the doors with their axes. They then

Lib. 8 : 82.

set fire to this huge building, and in the course of an hour it was a solid mass of flame. The bells of the city were rung,

History of Penn. Hall, pp. 150, 168, 170, 187.

and several engines rallied; but no water was permitted to be thrown upon the building. The light of the fire must have been seen a great distance.

At midnight, by the advice of friends, I left the city with a friend in a carriage, and rode to Bristol, a distance

their graves. This sluggish state of the public mind betokens no moral reformation. The more stagnant the waters, the mightier must be the hurricane to give salubrity to the atmosphere and health to the people. Your cause will not prosper here — the philosophy of reform forbids you to expect it — until it excites popular tumult, and brings down upon it a shower of brickbats and rotten eggs, and is threatened with a coat of tar-and-feathers. How was it in New England as the truth began to affect the consciences of the people? Why, sir, that whole section of country was rocked to its very centre, and violence was everywhere awakened towards the active friends of the helpless and bleeding slave. Then, sir, our cause began to make swift progress, like that Christianity of which it is a part, in apostolic and martyr times. So it must be with you here, as a matter of dire and unavoidable necessity; because it is not to be supposed that the jacobinical spirit of slavery and the atrocious spirit of prejudice are less prevalent here than they were in distant New England" ('History of Pennsylvania Hall,' p. 71).

[1] Her speech so affected Theodore D. Weld that, at the close of the meeting, he urged her to take the field as an anti-slavery lecturer; and, laying his hand upon her shoulder, he said, in his vehement way, "Abby, if you don't, God will smite you!" She obeyed his voice (and her own internal prompting) in the spring of 1839.

[2] Namely, the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women ('History of Pennsylvania Hall,' p. 128).

of twenty miles, where I took the steamboat next morning for home.[1]

Awful as is this occurrence in Philadelphia, it will do incalculable good to our cause; for the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God. Our friends are all in excellent spirits, shouting, Alleluia! for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth! Let the earth rejoice!

From the destruction of an office sign to that of a public hall seems a long stride, but in fact there was the closest possible logical connection between the Boston mob of October, 1835, and that which laid Pennsylvania Hall in ashes. In both cases the right of free speech was aimed at and temporarily suppressed. But there were other resemblances, amounting almost to identity. The attack in Philadelphia, as in Boston, involved the anti-slavery office;[2] it was directed against a meeting of women; the mayor was neither eager nor able to put it down. We see again the figures of Garrison and of Burleigh; of Mary Parker, Maria Chapman, Anne Warren Weston, and others of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society who had heard the yells of the "gentlemen of property and standing." There is the same spectacle of white women paired with black, as

Lib. 8:156; *ante, p.* 16.

[1] From the Needles's, whose mob-threatened home he quitted, on the night of the burning of the hall, with the "parting benediction, 'Peace be with you,'" Mr. Garrison took refuge, by invitation, at the friendly house of Morris L. Hallowell, No. 240 North Sixth St., where the Junior Anti-Slavery Society had gathered to meet Henry C. Wright. About two o'clock the next morning (May 18) a covered carriage was driven to the door, into which he got and was spirited away. Joseph Parrish, Jr., Israel H. Johnson, and Robert Purvis bore the chief part in this deliverance. The mob violence continued for several days, and ended, as usual, by alarming the "respectable" sympathizers with it ('History of Pennsylvania Hall,' p. 141; *Lib.* 8:87).

[2] This was the southernmost room on the Sixth-Street front, and was the object of special attention from the mob, who used its literature to feed the flames. Lundy's effects — his "papers, books, clothes, everything of value" except his Mexican journal — were there stored, and became "a total sacrifice on the altar of Universal Emancipation" ('History of Pennsylvania Hall,' p. 170; 'Life of Lundy,' p. 303; *Lib.* 8:95). Whittier and the *Pennsylvania Freeman* were also among the sufferers (Underwood's 'Whittier,' p. 144).

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they leave the hall and make their way through the rioters in the streets. Again the colonizationists exult in the persecution of the abolitionists, excusing it on the ground of the mixed colors in the audience and on the streets.[1] R. J. Breckinridge, addressing a colonization gathering in Philadelphia, asserts that Pennsylvania Hall was built expressly for the propagation of felony — intermarriage, namely, between the two races — against which the law should have been invoked as much as against the mob. His Quaker ally, Elliott Cresson, as foreman of the Grand Jury, follows the Alton example in presenting both the rioters and the abolitionists, and returns approvingly to the court sundry petitions against the rebuilding of the hall, "under the full persuasion that 'the peace, tranquillity, and safety' of the community will be endangered by its reconstruction." Finally, once more there is an answer to the foolish and heartless taunt — "Why don't you go South?" The Boston abolitionists pass from Mayor Lyman to Mayor Swift — southward, to a city, on the border of slave territory, frequented by Southerners. As little as in the city of Faneuil Hall is speech free, or life or property secure, in the city of Independence Hall — that hall now a court-room from which fugitives are sent back to bondage.

Lib. 8:95.

Lib. 8:171.

John Swift.

History of Penn. Hall, p. 28.

Boston, in its turn, attempted to copy the example of Philadelphia. Marlboro' Chapel, the analogue of Pennsylvania Hall in its conception, was completed nearly at the same time. Its dedication was appointed for the ensuing week. On May 25, Mr. Garrison writes to G. W. Benson:

Ante, 1:481.

"The spirit of mobocracy, like the pestilence, is contagious; and Boston is once more ready to re-enact the riotous scenes of 1835. The Marlboro' Chapel, having just been completed,

[1] So a correspondent of a Southern paper speaks of "an audience promiscuously mixed up of blacks and whites, sitting together in amalgamated ease;" and a St. Louis paper declares that "a single shameless instance of a white woman hanging to the arm of a negro was sufficiently insulting. to a people of good taste, to justify the demolition of the unholy temple of the abolition lecturers" ('History of Pennsylvania Hall,' pp. 167, 170).

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and standing in relation to our cause just as did Pennsylvania Hall, is an object of pro-slavery malevolence. Ever since my return, threats have been given out that the Chapel should share the fate of the Hall. Last evening was the time for its dedication; and, so threatening was the aspect of things, four companies of light infantry were ordered to be in readiness, each being provided with 100 *ball* cartridges, to rush to the scene of riot on the tolling of the bells. The lancers, a powerful body of horsemen, were also in readiness. During the day, placards were posted at the corners of the streets, denouncing the abolitionists, and calling upon the citizens to rally at the Chapel in the evening, in order to put them down. An immense concourse of people assembled, a large proportion doubtless from motives of curiosity, and not a few of them with evil designs; but, owing to the strong military preparations, the multitude refrained entirely from any overt acts of violence. They did not disperse till after 10 o'clock, and during the evening shouted and yelled like a troop of wild savages. Some ten or twelve were seized and carried to the watch-house, and this morning fined for their disorderly conduct. To-day, the public mind is more tranquil. It is possible, however — perhaps probable — that we shall be disturbed at our meetings next week; but we can beat our opponents at least two to one at that game. Non-resistance *versus* brickbats and bowie-knives! Omnipotence against a worm of the dust! Divine law against lynch law! How unequal!

May 24, 1838.

Lib. 8: 87, 91.

"What kind of a dedication discourse do you suppose Charles Fitch — the flaming abolitionist — gave last evening? Remember that the Chapel was founded mainly by abolitionists, upon the rock of universal emancipation, and to advance the cause of humanity and free discussion. It was to be expected, therefore, that the dedicatory address would set forth the reasons for the erection of such a building, and contain some stirring abolition sentiments — though, peradventure, they might partake of an 'evangelical' character. But, no! Charles Fitch has proved that he cares as little for the cause he once so furiously espoused as he is ignorant of true righteousness. Ridiculous as it may seem, and incredibly out of place, it is nevertheless true that he gave a humdrum discourse about the Sabbath, infant sprinkling, and the sacrament! Not a word about the object for which the Chapel was erected — not a syllable, either in the sermon or prayers, about the poor slave!"

Samuel A. Eliot.

Garrison Mob, p. 56.

Lib. 8:90, 91.

Lib. 8:107.

If the mob element in Boston had learned nothing in three years, the city authorities had. Mayor Eliot found all the law he wanted for calling out the militia and furnishing them with ball cartridges, though, as we are told, there was "no *statute* authority . . . to issue orders *directly* to the militia until the year 1840." Thanks to his prompt action on May 24, the New England Anti-Slavery Convention met without disturbance at the Marlboro' Chapel on May 30, with the venerable Seth Sprague, of Duxbury (the father of Peleg Sprague), in the chair, and a remarkable attendance on the part of the clergy. We must pass over its doings, except the unanimous adoption of a resolution, moved at the beginning by Oliver Johnson, that women as well as men be invited to become members and participate in the proceedings. Amos A. Phelps, who had restrained himself so long in the case of the Grimkés, could endure no longer. He moved the rescinding of this resolution, and, failing in that, together with five other Orthodox clergymen and one Orthodox layman (including the Rev. Charles Fitch, the Rev. Charles T. Torrey, of Salem,[1] and the Rev. George Trask), asked to have his name expunged from the rolls and his protest printed. They regarded the innovation as "injurious to the cause of the slave by connecting with it a subject foreign to it; injurious as a precedent for connecting with it *other* irrelevant topics." None the less the Convention put Abby Kelley on a committee with Oliver Johnson and Alanson St. Clair, instructing them to memorialize the New England ecclesiastical bodies to bear their testimony against slavery; and accepted their memorial as reported, against the opposition of the clerical members, chiefly Orthodox, who made various pretexts to cover up their main objection, namely, to the sex of one of the committee.[2]

[1] He was made Corresponding Secretary of the Andover A. S. Society on its formation in 1835 (*Lib.* 5:43).

[2] "Clerical arrogance" or "ruffianism," as Mr. Garrison termed it, induced the Rhode Island Congregational Consociation to reject the memorial

These dissidents were reinforced by Whittier, who wrote home to his *Pennsylvania Freeman* that the last day's debate over the question of admitting women to membership had "nothing to do with the professed object of the Convention; and a discussion of the merits of animal magnetism, or of the Mormon Bible, would have been quite as appropriate." Nay, he even made a virtue of resisting what he assumed to be an attempt to engraft the practices of Quakerism—"connecting our sectarianism with the cause"; and declared, "We will not be guilty of treason to humanity by pitiful attempts to smuggle into public confidence and favor our peculiar sentiments upon other topics, under the guise of abolition." Mr. Garrison, calmly (for old friendship's sake), contended, as against such sentiments—"The 'woman question,' so far as it respects the right or the propriety of REQUIRING WOMEN TO BE SILENT in Anti-Slavery Conventions, when they affirm that their consciences demand that they should speak, is not an 'irrelevant' question, but one which it is perfectly proper to discuss in such bodies whenever the right alluded to is claimed. . . . Is it not as proper to discuss the *means* as the *end* of our organization?" It would not, indeed, be relevant then and there to discuss woman's rights; but when a woman responds aye to a proposition, or rises to express her conviction, from a sense of duty, shall we "APPLY THE GAG"? He reminded his colleagues at the Convention of 1833, to form the American Anti-Slavery Society, that women were allowed to speak on that important occasion.

Lib. 8:106. *Lib.* 8:120. *Lib.* 8:119.

This phase of "woman's rights" was shortly to be made a touchstone in other fields of reform — in that of peace, for example. "This delightful yet awfully momentous subject," as Mr. Garrison styled it, had been popularized in Boston in a series of weekly lectures by

Lib. 8:27.

unanimously, as coming from an unscripturally woman-ruled convention; and the editor of the *Christian Mirror* to insinuate that it was disreputable for a woman to be closeted with two men in committee (*Lib.* 8:107).

prominent Unitarian clergymen at the Odeon — the "redeemed" Federal-Street Theatre. Henry Ware, Jr., began the course in January; Dr. Channing and Samuel J. May followed in February. In April, the New York Peace Society issued a call for a representative convention in New York city during the ensuing month. If the cause had ever lost its interest in Mr. Garrison's mind, he had now the weightiest examples for reënlisting in it. He needed, however, neither these nor the contagion of the time to kindle his zeal in behalf of peace. He was not caught up and hurried along; rather, he chafed under the logical shortcomings of the special champions of the doctrine. Channing, who, while inclined to interpret literally the injunctions of Scripture thereupon, could not reconcile them with the "duty of Government to apply force for the protection of rights," avoided, in his Odeon lecture, discussing either the right of self-defence or the support of civil government. Hence, said the editor of the *Liberator*, his excellent sentiments would not avail much, or produce a lasting impression. As for the American Peace Society, "enrolling upon its list of members not converted but belligerous commanders-in-chief, generals, colonels, majors, corporals and all," Mr. Garrison found it "radically defective in principle, and based upon the sand." And he gave notice, as early as August, 1837: "I hope to be more deeply engaged in the cause of Peace by and by than I can at present; and unless they alter their present course, the first thing I shall do will be to serve our Peace Societies as I have done the Colonization Societies."

Lib. 8:15, 27. *Lib.* 8:67. *Lib.* 8:158. *Lib.* 8:27. *Lib.* 7:146.

Lib. 8:111. On May 30, 1838, at a meeting of "friends of peace" in Boston, William Ladd being in the chair, a committee was appointed to call a convention in that city "for the purpose of having a free and full discussion of the principles of Peace, and of the measures best adapted to promote this holy cause." The committee, consisting of the Rev. S. J. May, of South Scituate, Henry C. Wright, of Newburyport, the Rev. George Trask, of Warren, and

Edmund Quincy and Amasa Walker, of Boston, fixed on September 18 as the date, and the Marlboro' Chapel as the place, of holding the proposed convention, to which all were invited without regard to sect or party, and without being committed to any programme. Each of the five committeemen was a "Garrisonian abolitionist," but they were not equally agreed in their views of peace. "You and brother Wright have startled me," writes Mr. May to his friend Garrison in July, "but I am determined to follow wherever *truth* may guide. I look forward to the Convention with high expectation. If we do not drive off the timid ones by broaching our ultra doctrines in the beginning, but lead them along through the preliminaries,—getting them to concede certain fundamental truths,—we may at last surprise many into the acknowledgment of a faith from which at first they would revolt." By way of preparation, he suggested that Mr. Garrison bring a report on the inquiry "whether the principles of Christianity require us even to forgive public criminals, and not put them to death or keep them in prison." "Brother Wright will prepare one on the inviolability of human life; Quincy, on the right of others, as well as members of the Society of Friends, to have their conscientious scruples respecting military trainings, etc., duly regarded.[1] Walker will prepare one on military parades and titles. Others have been or will be requested to write on other topics. All this should be *inter nos*."

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MS. July 22, 1838.

To Mr. Garrison, still at Brooklyn, Edmund Quincy wrote as follows on August 10:

"Brother Wright was in town yesterday, and we talked over together the approaching Peace Convention and its probable results. The clergy, he tells me, are already preaching against it, the effect of which will probably be the attendance of only

MS.

[1] This was a practical question. See the case of David Cambell, publisher of the *Graham Journal*, confined six days (a second time) in Leverett-Street jail for "neglect of military duty" (*Lib.* 8:66, 67), and the proceedings in Judge Story's court, reported by Mr. Garrison in *Lib.* 8:167.

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pretty thorough men. The result of the Convention will probably be a new organization on the principle of the Inviolability of Human Life. Now, as it will be well to be prepared for such a result, I write you, at his request, to ask you and your brother, G. W. Benson, to lay your heads together and concoct a Declaration of Sentiments and Constitution, or a Constitution, including the emphatic annunciation of this great principle. Especially try to fix upon a *name* for the association — something that shall convey the idea of the principle of the movement: the anti-man-killing principle. This last has puzzled us a good deal. Brother Wright is going to Scituate to spend a week with Bro. May, with whom he is to attempt what we ask of you. I shall apply to Amasa Walker here to assist me in concocting something of the kind; so that when we come together at the time of the Convention, we shall be tolerably well prepared for the emergency. Please not to neglect this."

H. C. Wright. S. J. May.

MS. May 25, 1838, W. L. G. to G. W. Benson.

On August 30, 1838, Mrs. Chapman, recovered from the almost fatal attack of fever induced by the fatigue of her Philadelphia experience, informs Mr. Garrison that "H. C. Wright has recently been at Weymouth, much to the discomfiture of Mr. Perkins. He delivered seven lectures there, the people hearing him gladly. We all hope to see you at the Peace Convention, which, as far as I can learn, bids fair to excite a general interest."[1]

Finally, Mr. Garrison himself, replying, September 8, to S. J. May, tells of domestic sickness having prevented him from drawing up the report desired of him, or in-

[1] Mrs. Chapman adds: "I send you Emerson's oration [the famous discourse before the Harvard Divinity School, July 15, 1838]. It is rousing the wrath of the Cambridge 'powers that be' in an astonishing manner. How cowardly are Unitarians generally! They take the alarm at sentiments which differ only in shading from their own (in matters of doctrine, I mean)." It was with reference to this epoch-making event that J. Q. Adams wrote in his diary on Aug. 2, 1840: "A young man, named Ralph Waldo Emerson, a son of my once loved friend, William Emerson, and a classmate of my lamented son George, after failing in the everyday avocations of a Unitarian preacher and schoolmaster, starts a new doctrine of Transcendentalism, declares all the old revelations superannuated and worn-out, and announces the approach of new revelations and prophecies. Garrison and the non-resistant abolitionists, Brownson and the Marat Democrats, phrenology and animal magnetism, all come in, furnishing each some plausible rascality as an ingredient for the bubbling cauldron of religion and politics."

deed from going to the Convention prepared to take an effective part in it. He had hoped to express his views on some topics; "but you know that I shrink from extemporaneous discussion." Further, in the same letter: CHAP. IV. 1838.

"We shall probably find no difficulty in bringing a large majority of the Convention to set their seal of condemnation upon the present militia system, and its ridiculous and pernicious accompaniments. They will also, I presume, reprobate all wars, defensive as well as offensive. They will not agree so cordially as to the inviolability of human life. But few, I think, will be ready to concede that Christianity forbids the use of physical force in the punishment of evil-doers; yet nothing is plainer to my understanding, or more congenial to the feelings of my heart. The desire of putting my enemies into a prison, or inflicting any kind of chastisement upon them, except of a moral kind, is utterly eradicated from my breast. I can conceive of no provocations greater than those which my Lord and Master suffered unresistingly. In dying upon the cross, that his enemies might live — in asking for their forgiveness in the extremity of his agonies — he has shown me how to meet all my foes, aye, and to conquer them, or, at least, to triumph over them. *MS.*

"Henceforth, then, I war with no man after the flesh. I feel the excellence and sublimity of that precept which bids me pray for those who despitefully use me; and of that other precept which enjoins upon me, when smitten upon the [one] cheek, to turn the other also. Even in this the yoke of the Saviour is easy, and his burden is light. We degrade our spirits in a brutal conflict. To talk of courts of justice, and of punishing evil and disobedient men,— of protecting the weak, and avenging the wronged, by a posse comitatus or a company of soldiers,— has a taking sound; but it is hollow in my ears. I believe that Jesus Christ is to conquer this rebellious world as completely as the Spirit of Evil has now possession of it; and I know that he repudiates the use of all carnal weapons in carrying on his warfare. There is not a brickbat or bludgeon, not a sword or pistol, not a bowie-knife or musket, not a cannon or bomb-shell, which he does not *suffer* his Universal Foe to use against him; and which he does not *forbid* his soldiers to employ in self-defence, or for aggressive purposes. If, then, the spirit of Christ dwell in me, how can I resort to those things which he

CHAP. IV. 1838. could not adopt? If I belong to his kingdom, what have I to do with the kingdoms of this world? 'Let the dead bury their dead.' . . .

Sept. 15, 1838. "I shall leave Brooklyn on Saturday next with my family, for Boston, *via* Providence."

If there was preparation on one side, there was counter-preparation on the other. On the evening of September 17 (the day of Mr. Garrison's arrival in Boston), a meeting of "moderate" peace men was held at the Eagle Bank, to concert measures for preventing the adoption, or even the prominent discussion, of "Mr. Wright's principles" at the Peace Convention which was to commence the next day. Four clergymen and six laymen made up the group; "Mr. Ladd was anxiously expected, but did not arrive. Messrs. Wright, May, etc., had not been invited. Mr. Beckwith,"[1] say the anonymous MS. minutes from which we quote, "opened the business of the meeting. His sentiment was that the cause should be protected from the extravagance of ultra men, and that the moderate party should so manage as to secure a chairman and a majority of the business committee on their own side. A sort of vigilance committee was chosen to attend to that business. The question then arose whether the moderate party should protest, or withdraw, or both, if women should be admitted to the convention and the committees. Mr. Beckwith said he would withdraw in that case, and, the question being put, all but two voted for withdrawal."

Lib. 8: 154. In the forenoon of Tuesday, September 18, Mr. May called to order a convention whose rolls showed an attendance of 124 from Massachusetts, 23 from Rhode Island, about a dozen from the other New England States, and three from Pennsylvania. They showed more,— that a large proportion consisted of "incendiary" and "cut-throat" abolitionists; while the proceed-

[1] Rev. George C. Beckwith, a member of the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society. Another member, Joshua P. Blanchard, was among the laymen at the above meeting.

ings proved that these "were the most 'fanatical' upon the subject of peace — insisted most strongly upon the duty of forgiving enemies — and denied (with few exceptions) the right of any class of men, white, black, or colored, to fight in defence of liberty" — a strange spectacle to Southern beholders from near or from afar. Amasa Walker was made President *pro tem.;* Oliver Johnson, Secretary *pro tem.;* George W. Benson, one of the committee to nominate permanent officers. Of what followed, Mr. Garrison has left an account in a letter dated Boston, September 21, 1838, to his wife in Providence, from whom he had parted on Monday the 17th: *Lib.* 8:155.

"Next morning, attended the Peace Convention, not knowing what to anticipate as to its complexion or numbers, and hardly attempting to imagine what would be the result of its deliberations. (I ought to have said, that we attended bro. May's lecture at the Chapel, the evening of our arrival. It was delivered in the large hall, but there were very few present, and they were nearly all abolitionists. It was a good lecture). A respectable number of delegates were in attendance. Hon. Sidney Willard, of Cambridge, was elected President, and E. L. Capron and Amasa Walker Vice-Presidents. When the roll of members was about being made out, I rose and suggested, that, as mistakes often occur in procuring signatures, each individual should write his or *her* name on a slip of paper, &c.; thus mooting the vexed 'woman question' at the very outset. There was a smile on the countenances of many abolition friends, while others in the Convention looked very grave. Several of the clergy were present, but no one rose to object. Of course, women became members, and were thus entitled to speak and vote. A business committee was then appointed,[1] upon which Abby Kelley and a Miss [Susan] Sisson were placed. Mrs. Chapman was added to another committee.[2] In the course of the forenoon, Rev. Mr. Beckwith was called to order by Abby K. Endurance now passed its bounds on the part of the women-contemners, and accordingly several persons (clergymen and laymen) requested their names to be erased *MS.* *Marlboro' Chapel.* *Lib.* 8:155. *Lib.* 8:154. *Lib.* 8:154.

[1] Consisting of Geo. C. Beckwith, Edmund Quincy, Joshua P. Blanchard, H. C. Wright, Baron Stow, W. L. Garrison, and Chas. O. Kimball (*Lib.* 8: 154).

[2] That on Rules (*Lib.* 8:154)

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from the roll of the Convention, because women were to be allowed to participate in the proceedings! They were gratified in their request.[1]

H. C. Wright. *Lib.* 8:154.

"In the afternoon, bro. Wright opened the discussion, by offering a resolution declaring that no man, no government, has a right to take the life of man, on any pretext, according to the gospel of Christ. He made a very able argument, and was replied to by a Rev. Mr. Powers, of Scituate, but in a feeble manner. In the evening, Dr. Follen made a long and ingenious speech against the resolution, and contended that a man had a right to defend himself by violence. Bro. Wright spoke in reply, and was catechised, while upon the stand, pretty freely. He answered all objections very readily. Several others also addressed the meeting, very briefly, which was then adjourned.

Chas. Follen.

Lib. 8:154. *Sept.* 19, 1838. *Ezra S. Gannett.*

"The discussion was continued with great animation the next forenoon. Rev. Mr. Gannett made a speech against the resolution, and moved its indefinite postponement. I replied to him in a manner that grieved him sorely. The resolution was adopted by a large majority. In the afternoon, a committee of nine was appointed to draw up a Constitution and a Declaration of Sentiments, of which I was chairman.[2] I first wrote the Constitution, radical in all things, and presented it without delay. It created much discussion, which lasted during the evening, but was adopted by a decisive majority.[3]

Lib. 8:154.

Sept. 20, 1838.

"Yesterday forenoon was occupied in the consideration and adoption of sundry important resolutions;[4] but I absented myself to write the Declaration. In the afternoon, it was reported to the Convention, and never was a more 'fanatical' or 'disorganizing' instrument penned by man. It swept the whole surface of society, and upturned almost every existing institution on earth. Of course it produced a deep and lively sensation, and a very long and critical debate; and, to my astonishment, was adopted by those present by a vote of more than five to one.[5] It was ordered to be engrossed upon parch-

Lib. 8:154.

[1] Among these were Messrs. Beckwith and Stow, and three out of four of the Maine delegation, good Ebenezer Dole not excepted (*Lib.* 8:154).

[2] His colleagues were S. J. May, Maria W. Chapman, E. Quincy, William Bassett, Abby Kelley, Peleg Clark, H. C. Wright, and James P. Boyce.

[3] 28 to 15. The length of the session had compelled many members to return home (*Lib.* 8:171).

[4] One being against the movement to complete the Bunker Hill monument (*Lib.* 8:154).

[5] 26 to 5 (*Lib.* 8:154).

Charles Follen

ment, and the signatures of those who approved it are to be appended to it. It will make a tremendous stir, not only in this country, but, in time, throughout the world.[1] All who voted for it were abolitionists. Edmund Quincy, Wendell Phillips, William Ladd, A. St. Clair, and S. J. May declined voting either way, though almost ready to swallow it entire.[2] Bro. May acted very inconsistently, got frightened, confused, and did some harm. After the adjournment yesterday afternoon, we formed a society, calling it the 'New England Non-Resistance Society,' and electing Effingham L. Capron to be its President, myself the Corresponding, and Mrs. Chapman the Recording Secretary. Mrs. Southwick and Anne Weston are upon the Executive Committee. In the course of the discussions, bro. George spoke several times with much earnestness and to great effect.

Lib. 8:155.

Lib. 8:163.

G. W. Benson.

"By this procedure your husband will have subjected himself afresh to the scorn, hatred, and persecution of an ungodly world; but my trust is in the God of Jacob. I know that the sentiments of the Declaration are of God, and must prevail."

Mr. Garrison had met Mr. Quincy's perplexity as to a name for the new organization by choosing one which was a definite creed in itself, as he had done in the case of the anti-slavery organizations. He "at once perceived that the term 'peace' had become equivocal by usage, and did not convey to the mind all that the gospel really embodies in it. Hence the substitution of the broad and comprehensive word, 'NON-RESISTANCE,' which applies to individual as well as national intercourse."

Ante, p. 224.

Lib. 8:155.

[1] The three days of the Peace Convention, said the editor under his own signature in the *Liberator* (8:155), will be more memorable than the Three Days in Paris. "Mankind shall hail the 20TH OF SEPTEMBER with more exultation and gratitude than Americans now do the 4TH OF JULY. This may now be regarded as solemn bombast; but it is prophetical, and shall not fail to be fulfilled."

[2] Mr. Phillips had, vainly, opposed a resolution declaring the non-resistant principle founded on the spirit and direct commands of the gospel, and a doubt of its expediency a doubt of the wisdom and goodness of God (*Lib.* 8:154). As for Ladd, Mr. Garrison writes to Sarah Benson, Sept. 24, 1838: "The deep solemnity of the occasion was somewhat disturbed by the broad and irresistible humor of William Ladd. He is a huge and strange compound of fat, good nature, and benevolence. He went with us nineteen-twentieths of the way, and said he expected to 'go the whole' next year!" (MS.)

We can pass over the details of the Constitution, which,
Lib. 8:154. by its third article, forbade any discrimination of sex or color in membership, and come at once to the Declaration of Sentiments, struck off at a single sitting on the forenoon of September 20:

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS

ADOPTED BY THE

PEACE CONVENTION

Held in Boston, September 18, 19, & 20, 1838.

Lib. 8:154. ASSEMBLED in Convention, from various sections of the American Union, for the promotion of peace on earth and good-will among men, we, the undersigned, regard it as due to ourselves, to the cause which we love, to the country in which we live, and to the world, to publish a DECLARATION, expressive of the principles we cherish, the purposes we aim to accomplish, and the measures we shall adopt to carry forward the work of peaceful, universal reformation.

We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government; neither can we oppose any such government by a resort to physical force. We recognize but one KING and LAWGIVER, one JUDGE and RULER of mankind. We are bound by the laws of a kingdom which is not of this world; the subjects of which are forbidden to fight; in which MERCY and TRUTH are met together, and RIGHTEOUSNESS and PEACE have kissed each other; which has no state lines, no national partitions, no geographical boundaries; in which there is no distinction of rank, or division of caste, or inequality of sex; the officers of which are PEACE, its exactors RIGHTEOUSNESS, its walls SALVATION, and its gates PRAISE; and which is destined to break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms.

Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind. We love the land of our nativity only as we love all other lands. The interests, rights, liberties of American citizens are no more dear to us than are those of the whole human race. Hence, we can allow no appeal to patriotism, to revenge any national insult or injury. The PRINCE OF PEACE, under whose stainless banner we rally, came not to destroy, but to save, even the worst of enemies. He has left us an example, that we should follow his steps. GOD COMMENDETH HIS LOVE TOWARD US, IN THAT WHILE WE WERE YET SINNERS, CHRIST DIED FOR US.

We conceive, that if a nation has no right to defend itself against foreign enemies, or to punish its invaders, no individual possesses that right in his own case. The unit cannot be of greater importance than the aggregate. If one man may take life, to obtain or defend his rights, the same license must necessarily be granted to communities, states, and nations. If *he* may use a dagger or a pistol, *they* may employ cannon, bomb-shells, land and naval forces. The means of self-preservation must be in proportion to the magnitude of interests at stake and the number of lives exposed to destruction. But if a rapacious and bloodthirsty soldiery, thronging these shores from abroad, with intent to commit rapine and destroy life, may not be resisted by the people or magistracy, then ought no resistance to be offered to domestic troublers of the public peace or of private security. No obligation can rest upon Americans to regard foreigners as more sacred in their persons than themselves, or to give them a monopoly of wrong-doing with impunity.

The dogma, that all the governments of the world are approvingly ordained of God, and that THE POWERS THAT BE in the United States, in Russia, in Turkey, are in accordance with his will, is not less absurd than impious. It makes the impartial Author of human freedom and equality, unequal and tyrannical. It cannot be affirmed that THE POWERS THAT BE, in any nation, are actuated by the spirit or guided by the example of Christ, in the treatment of enemies; therefore, they cannot be agreeable to the will of God; and therefore, their overthrow, by a spiritual regeneration of their subjects, is inevitable.

We register our testimony, not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war; against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army; against all military chieftains and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a fallen foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defence of a nation by force and arms, on the part of any legislative body; against every edict of government requiring of its subjects military service. Hence, we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold a military office.

As every human government is upheld by physical strength, and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the bayonet, we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its incumbent the obligation to compel men to do right, on pain of imprison-

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ment or death. We therefore voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body, and repudiate all human politics, worldly honors, and stations of authority. If *we* cannot occupy a seat in the legislature or on the bench, neither can we elect *others* to act as our substitutes in any such capacity.

It follows, that we cannot sue any man at law, to compel him by force to restore anything which he may have wrongfully taken from us or others; but if he has seized our coat, we shall surrender up our cloak, rather than subject him to punishment.

We believe that the penal code of the old covenant, AN EYE FOR AN EYE, AND A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH, has been abrogated by JESUS CHRIST; and that, under the new covenant, the forgiveness instead of the punishment of enemies has been enjoined upon all his disciples, in all cases whatsoever. To extort money from enemies, or set them upon a pillory, or cast them into prison, or hang them upon a gallows, is obviously not to forgive, but to take retribution. VENGEANCE IS MINE — I WILL REPAY, SAITH THE LORD.

The history of mankind is crowded with evidences proving that physical coercion is not adapted to moral regeneration; that the sinful dispositions of men can be subdued only by love; that evil can be exterminated from the earth only by goodness; that it is not safe to rely upon an arm of flesh, upon man whose breath is in his nostrils, to preserve us from harm; that there is great security in being gentle, harmless, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy; that it is only the meek who shall inherit the earth, for the violent who resort to the sword are destined to perish with the sword. Hence, as a measure of sound policy — of safety to property, life, and liberty — of public quietude and private enjoyment — as well as on the ground of allegiance to HIM who is KING OF KINGS and LORD OF LORDS, we cordially adopt the non-resistance principle; being confident that it provides for all possible consequences, will ensure all things needful to us, is armed with omnipotent power, and must ultimately triumph over every assailing force.

We advocate no jacobinical doctrines. The spirit of jacobinism is the spirit of retaliation, violence, and murder. It neither fears God nor regards man. *We* would be filled with the spirit of CHRIST. If we abide by our principles, it is impossible for us to be disorderly, or plot treason, or participate in any evil work; we shall submit to every ordinance of man,

FOR THE LORD'S SAKE; obey all the requirements of Government, except such as we deem contrary to the commands of the gospel; and in no case resist the operation of law, except by meekly submitting to the penalty of disobedience.

But, while we shall adhere to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive submission to enemies, we purpose, in a moral and spiritual sense, to speak and act boldly in the cause of GOD; to assail iniquity, in high places and in low places; to apply our principles to all existing civil, political, legal and ecclesiastical institutions; and to hasten the time when the kingdoms of this world will have become the kingdoms of our LORD and of his CHRIST, and he shall reign for ever.

It appears to us a self-evident truth, that, whatever the gospel is designed to destroy at any period of the world, being contrary to it, ought now to be abandoned. If, then, the time is predicted when swords shall be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and men shall not learn the art of war any more, it follows that all who manufacture, sell or wield those deadly weapons, do thus array themselves against the peaceful dominion of the SON OF GOD on earth.

Having thus briefly, but frankly, stated our principles and purposes, we proceed to specify the measures we propose to adopt, in carrying our object into effect.

We expect to prevail through THE FOOLISHNESS OF PREACHING — striving to commend ourselves unto every man's conscience, in the sight of GOD. From the press, we shall promulgate our sentiments as widely as practicable. We shall endeavor to secure the co-operation of all persons, of whatever name or sect. The triumphant progress of the cause of TEMPERANCE and of ABOLITION in our land, through the instrumentality of benevolent and voluntary associations, encourages us to combine our own means and efforts for the promotion of a still greater cause. Hence, we shall employ lecturers, circulate tracts and publications, form societies, and petition our State and national governments, in relation to the subject of UNIVERSAL PEACE. It will be our leading object to devise ways and means for effecting a radical change in the views, feelings, and practices of society, respecting the sinfulness of war and the treatment of enemies.

In entering upon the great work before us, we are not unmindful that, in its prosecution, we may be called to test our sincerity, even as in a fiery ordeal. It may subject us to insult, outrage, suffering, yea, even death itself. We anticipate no

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small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, calumny. Tumults may arise against us. The ungodly and violent, the proud and pharisaical, the ambitious and tyrannical, principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places, may combine to crush us. So they treated the MESSIAH, whose example we are humbly striving to imitate. If we suffer with him, we know that we shall reign with him. We shall not be afraid of their terror, neither be troubled. Our confidence is in the LORD ALMIGHTY, not in man. Having withdrawn from human protection, what can sustain us but that faith which overcomes the world? We shall not think it strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try us, as though some strange thing had happened unto us; but rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of CHRIST'S sufferings. Wherefore, we commit the keeping of our souls to GOD, in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator. FOR EVERY ONE THAT FORSAKES HOUSES, OR BRETHREN, OR SISTERS, OR FATHER, OR MOTHER, OR WIFE, OR CHILDREN, OR LANDS, FOR CHRIST'S SAKE, SHALL RECEIVE A HUNDRED FOLD, AND SHALL INHERIT EVERLASTING LIFE.

Firmly relying upon the certain and universal triumph of the sentiments contained in this DECLARATION, however formidable may be the opposition arrayed against them — in solemn testimony of our faith in their divine origin — we hereby affix our signatures to it; commending it to the reason and conscience of mankind, giving ourselves no anxiety as to what may befall us, and resolving in the strength of the LORD GOD calmly and meekly to abide the issue.

Mr. Quincy's legal scruples against signing this manifesto are set forth in a letter written on the day subsequent to its adoption:

Edmund Quincy to W. L. Garrison.

MS.

BEACON ST. [BOSTON], Sept. 21, 1838.

MY DEAR GARRISON: My unwillingness to be left out of the band of generous spirits who are joined with you in the holy work of disseminating what I hold to be true Christianity, makes me submit to you these brief considerations. My chief present objection to signing the Declaration of Sentiments and Constitution is, that I conceive them to amount not only to a renunciation of civil government and the false principles on which it rests, but of everything connected with it and sanc-

tioned by it. Now I utterly repudiate the whole of the man-killing, God-defying rights of power and bloodshed which that system assumes to have; but there are certain things originating in Government, and sanctioned by it, which I think are innocent, and may be innocently used. For example, I do not see how one who assents to the principles laid down in their unqualified extent can receive or pass a bank-bill, which is a promise of a corporation created by Government, depending upon it, and enforced by it by physical power in the last resort. So with coined money: it bears the image and superscription of human government, and is guarded by severe laws. Now I cannot think it sinful to recognize government so far as to take or give away money. So an insurance company is a creature of Government, and he who takes out a policy of insurance may call in the strong arm of the Law if his due be not accorded to him; but I cannot think it wrong to pay a premium of insurance, and receive the money in case of loss. To sue for it and compel payment is another thing. So the various instruments by which property is transferred or arranged involve the ultimate resort to force; but I cannot believe that every mortgage, deed, lease, contract, bond, etc., etc., is necessarily a sinful recognition of the man-killing, injury-resisting principle.

I grant that the resort to force is never to be had, but the injury to be submitted to and forgiven. But the ordinary and innocent business of life can no more be carried on without these contrivances than it can without money; and I hold that a man giving or taking them without the intention of appealing to force at the inception, and without actual resort to it at the conclusion, of such contracts, no more recognizes the vicious principles of government than he does who takes or passes money. Again, a monied or a benevolent corporation is a creature of Government; but I cannot think that I should sin in owning stock in a bank, insurance company, or railroad, or in becoming a trustee of a benevolent corporation. I might mention a variety of other things, if I had time to think of them, which, though recognized by, originating in, and sustained by Government, I must think indifferent, and to involve no sacrifice of the non-resistant principle in him that has to do with them — provided he never actually resorts to the force provided for him, and never intends to do so. I take [it] the sinfulness of connexion with any of these things consists in the thought of violence, and in the act of violence; and that he

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who never harbors the one nor executes the other, is innocent of an undue compliance with the law of force.

Now, my dear friend, I felt that by signing those instruments — *i. e.*, the Declaration and Constitution — cordially agreeing as I did with their spirit, I might lay a snare for my conscience, and find on consideration that the sentiments and principles to which I should subscribe were not my sentiments, and were principles by which I could not live. Now you may see so clearly through these matters that you may feel no scruple about these things, and may not hold that these are legitimate inferences from the principles laid down — but so do not I.

Now if the Declaration and Constitution can be so altered in phraseology as to say to this effect, that no man can innocently sue or defend a suit at law, or enter into any contract sanctioned by Government which rests ultimately on physical force, with the thought of violence in his heart, and can never resort to the power provided for him, I can sign them both with all my heart. Whether this can be consistently done or not, you will have my heart and prayers with you, and all that I can do by word or deed to assist you in your heavenly work.

I am ever, my dear Garrison,

Your affectionate friend and brother,

EDMUND QUINCY.

W. L. Garrison to Samuel J. May.

BOSTON, Sept. 24, 1838.

I need not say how anxious I feel, in common with many others, that you should join the Non-Resistance Society, and affix your name to the Declaration of Sentiments; but not, of course, until every scruple has been removed from your mind — for how can even two walk together except they be agreed? But I am certain that there is no difference in sentiment between us. Since you left us, we have had several private meetings (attended by our friends Quincy, Alcott, Wright, St. Clair, Johnson, Wallcut, myself, &c.), in order to make the language of these two instruments (the Declaration and Constitution) as plain, unambiguous, and unexceptionable as possible, consistent with the principles set forth. The verbal amendments that have been made,[1] I think will be very satisfactory to you. Mr. Alcott says he is now prepared to sign the Declaration; so

A. B. Alcott, Oliver Johnson, R. F. Wallcut.

[1] Presumably these are incorporated in the copy of the Declaration given above, which was not printed in the *Liberator* till September 28, 1838.

does Mr. Wallcut; so does Mr. Quincy. The two latter will also join our Society. Bro. St. Clair is not yet quite clear in his mind, but will doubtless soon be heartily with us. The Declaration closes in the following strain. . . .

This instrument contemplates nothing, repudiates nothing, but the spirit of violence in thought, word and deed. Whatever, therefore, may be done without provoking that spirit, and in accordance with the spirit of disinterested benevolence, is not touched or alluded to in the instrument. The sum total of affirmation is this — that, the Lord helping us, we are resolved, come what may, as Christians, to have long-suffering toward those who may despitefully use and persecute us — to pray for them — to forgive them, in all cases. This is "the head and front of our offending" — nothing more, nothing less.

W. L. Garrison to George W. Benson.

BOSTON, Sept. 29, 1838.

You will have seen by yesterday's *Liberator*, that the list of officers of the new "jacobinical," "no-government" society was not published. The list is not yet completed; and the truth is, we do not know of any persons in the city whom we [can] elect to fill up the vacancies. After you left, our friend Edmund Quincy changed his views respecting the Declaration of Sentiments, and expressed his readiness to sign it, but has once more vacillated, and thinks he is not prepared at present to endorse the entire instrument. At least, there are some doubts and difficulties that he feels, and which must be removed before he can commit himself publicly. I feel very tenderly toward him, and do not regard him any the less for his conscientious scruples. He will doubtless come out right. Bro. May says he shall write to me at length on the subject next week. I have not much hope that he will get his mind relieved in season to start with us. Indeed, we shall not have a *great* and *sudden* rush into our ranks! There are very few in this land, in this world, who will be able to abide by the principles we have enunciated; though there may be many whose consciences must assent to their correctness. I see before us many trials through which we shall doubtless be called upon to pass, if we are faithful to our testimony. But let none of these things move us, or deter us from going forward. The Lord God is our sun and shield — our strength and our defence.

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Since I began this letter, I have been surrounded by a troop of anti-peace men, who have so hindered me by discussions [1] that my time allotted to fill this sheet has been consumed three or four times over—and it is now so dark that I must finish what I have got to say, in a very few words; for this letter must be dropped into the post-office without delay.

Mr. Quincy's adhesion to the new society was not long withheld.[2] In the meantime, as was inevitable, a larger and larger portion of the *Liberator* was given up to the subject of peace, until at least half of the fourth page was regularly devoted to it. The editor had anticipated complaints by assuring the colored people that their cause was not to be abandoned; but if not directly from them, from his white supporters and co-workers protests began to be heard, in public and private, and subscribers to drop off. He made no secret of this, being "tenacious of principle, but reckless of patronage." Nor could he disguise from himself the larger bearing of his course upon those already estranged from him by the Clerical Appeal. From New York, for example, came this friendly admonition from George Bourne, anxious to break a lance with him over the non-resistance doctrine, yet more anxious to have him see the impolicy of its advocacy:

Lib. 8: 155.

Lib. 8: 180, 192.

MS. Oct. 1, 1838.

"I may as well mention, however, that I anticipate no *peace* from your *Non-Resistance* oppugnation!—and I hope I shall be deceived, but I foresee in it mischief to the anti-slavery cause. I am aware that you judge differently, but I cannot evade the apprehension that another firebrand has been thrown into the

[1] So, to Sarah Benson, Sept. 24, 1838: "Since my arrival, I have been in a whirl of social, intellectual and moral excitement. My poor brain already reels under the pressure, though my heart is as tranquil as a summer's sea, and happier than any bird that ever warbled forth a song. I have had to perform considerable writing, and an immense amount of talking. As my head grows hot, my scrofulous complaint is excited to fresh malignity, and will probably give me much trouble the ensuing winter" (MS.)

[2] On Jan. 4, 1839, Mr. Garrison writes to Mr. May: "I am anxious to know the precise state of your mind with regard to our Non-Resistance Society. Edmund Quincy and Robert F. Wallcut are now both members of our Executive Committee, and have arrived at clear satisfaction."

arena, to sever the abolition champions. The destruction of slavery is a magnificent design, and part of its sublimest elements consists in the indescribable obstacles which must be surmounted. But the very magnitude of the contention demands proportionate energy and co-operation, 'the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace to fight the good fight of faith.' The individual opinions which we hold upon any abstract and disconnected subjects, however absurd or proper, extrinsic or collateral, are not correlative to the grand topic, and ought not to be introduced in any prominent form so as to produce revulsion.

"You will find, my friend, that so many adjuncts are perplexing to the grand cause, and, unless I am greatly deceived, that it will diminish your own energies and weaken your own influence. I have not deliberately examined the proceedings of the Non-Resistance meeting yet, and therefore only remark in general that, even were it a scheme in my own estimation unexceptionable, yet I should object to it, originating and sustained in its present form.

"I am aware that there is no necessary and inseparable connection between the anti-slavery cause and any other, and that every individual has the right to engage in as many moral warfares as he pleases; but I candidly confess that I see you the standard-bearer of the Non-Resistance Society with regret. I should equally regret to witness you occupying a prominent position in any other cause which is not a portion of the emancipation warfare. I can refer back to many *Liberators* in succession, in times bygone, when I could have said amen to every syllable which they enounced. Everything directly or indirectly aided to promote the sacred cause. It is but candid to say that, during the whole of this summer, I scarcely have met a number in which there is not something which repels. Either it is irrelevant, or so ill-adapted to carry out our own principles and designs, that I would rather have seen a blank spot than many paragraphs which I have read. This is not your fault, but I seriously believe that every square of the *Liberator* which is devoted to subjects which have not the smallest reference to the anti-slavery controversy is mischievous to the cause, and injurious to your own influence in the momentous conflict. To talk of Non-Resistance with the constant extraneous pugnacity which has been recently displayed upon disconnected topics, like old Billy's negro, chokes me! Excuse this expression of my solicitude and affection."

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Against such forebodings, Mr. Garrison had not merely the conviction, but the evidence, that the anti-slavery sentiment fostered by the *Liberator* would compare favorably in point of vitality with that derived from periodicals not open to the reproach of "irrelevancy." On August 30, 1838, Mrs. Chapman wrote to him:

MS.

"Wendell Phillips told me, after his excursion through Worcester County, that the *Emancipator* left men asleep as to the forwarding of the work, and that he could get no assistance in his labors but from *Liberator* men." Still, Mrs. Chapman and her sisters, whose exertions at this time may be said to have been indispensable to Mr. Garrison's pecuniary maintenance, knew better than any one else the possible damage to the *Liberator* from becoming practically the organ of the Non-Resistance Society. Hence the following letter, which had the desired effect:

MS. May 25, 1838, W. L. G. to G. W. Benson.

Miss Anne Warren Weston to W. L. Garrison.

MS.

WEYMOUTH, Nov. 11, 1838.

I feel as though the interest I take both in the cause of peace and that of abolition, will be a sufficient apology for the suggestion I am about to make; and though it may not, perhaps, meet with your approbation, I am sure that you will be aware that my earnest solicitude for the entire success of both these causes prompts me. I am desirous that the Non-Resistance Society should possess an organ of communication with the public other than the *Liberator*, and this as well on account of the one cause as the other. I fear that the introduction of non-resistance articles into the *Liberator* will ultimately prove a source of vexation and discord to the abolitionists, and that we shall spend more time in conflict upon this point among ourselves than is desirable. Upon anything that is part and parcel of abolition, I am willing,— yes, I am earnestly desirous, — that the anti-slavery party should divide, and divide again, if by that means their principles and measures may be maintained in their pristine purity; but, it is admitted by all, the doctrines of non-resistance are not identical with those of abolition. I know that *these* bear collaterally upon *those*, and thus

far, of course, would I have them discussed together, but not farther unless the majority of real abolitionists wished it so to be. I know that if *half* the *Liberator* were devoted to peace and non-resistance, you could, with the most perfect accuracy, assert that you were not connecting the two causes; but a great number of the abolitionists are not candid enough or clear-minded enough to see this, and many others are so opposed to ultra peace views that they are unwilling to do anything that may, even indirectly, tend to their support.

I hope that after the elections and their consequent excitements are over,[1] we shall be at leisure to renew our *moral efforts* with greater vigor, and to labor more faithfully for the purification of the New England churches. Our abolitionists have generally been willing to pledge themselves to vote for no man who was not an abolitionist at heart, and I hope that ere long they will be ready to say they will hear no man preach who is not the same. Now, to produce this result, it is absolutely necessary that whatever there is of genuine abolition among us should be concentrated on this work; and we must, if possible, avoid giving those ministers who are recreant to the cause of the slave the opportunity of weakening our hands, and drawing the attention of the public from themselves, by allegations that we are contending for the abolition of government rather than that of slavery.

Not less do I think this arrangement expedient on account of its influence on the non-resistance cause. This subject cannot fully be gone into, justice cannot be done it, while the *Liberator* is the only organ it possesses. The non-resistance people feel as though it were a sort of sufferance, only, by which they have a place in the *Liberator*, and do not therefore feel perfectly at liberty to bring forward their views there. This, at least, would be the case with myself. I presume, also, that this prevents many fair-minded opposers who are abolitionists from bringing forward their objections.

[1] As an excuse for not attending an anti-slavery convention in Hingham, Mr. Garrison pleaded to Mr. May, in addition to an inflamed and swollen right hand: "Another consideration. This number of the *Liberator* [Nov. 2, 1838] is a very important one, with regard to the approaching election. The replies of the various candidates to the questions propounded to them will be coming in up to the time the paper goes to press, and will need comments. I must try to write something adapted to the crisis, painful as it is for me to hold a pen. To be absent from the office, even an hour, will hardly be allowable under these circumstances" (MS. Oct. 30, 1838).

Oliver Johnson.

Now could you not edit a monthly paper devoted to the non-resistance cause, particularly if Mr. Johnson should remain in Boston, without interfering with your duties as editor of the *Liberator*? Very many, I think, who do not wish to have the cause introduced into the *Liberator*, would be anxious to take a paper wholly devoted to it. I think in Weymouth twelve or fifteen subscribers might be obtained, and I presume that wherever Mr. Wright lectures he might obtain a large number, as you would, of course, have the subscription as low as would consist with prudence.

H. C. Wright.

Is this a visionary or impracticable plan, or is it founded on a principle you disapprove? The idea has originated wholly with myself, and I am uncertain whether it will be approved by any one; but I have felt so anxious that the cause of strife may be avoided that I would make any sacrifice, save one of principle, to prevent it. I know you will excuse the liberty I take in so freely bringing forward my views.

A. A. Phelps, A. St. Clair.

P. S. The above was written on Sunday evening. Since then Messrs. Phelps and St. Clair have been at Weymouth, and their incidental remarks have served to increase my fear that the *Liberator* will be seriously injured unless something be done to prevent it. I desire the *Liberator*, and *the Liberator only*, to be the organ of the anti-slavery party in Massachusetts. Many plans have been on foot for its subversion, but have failed because they had no *basis*. I fear you are furnishing one if the *Liberator* becomes a peace paper in part.

Such was the genesis of the *Non-Resistant*, a journal which the next year will introduce to us. Before the end of December its publication as a semi-monthly was determined on, and the last number but one in the *Liberator's* volume contained an announcement to that effect by the Executive Committee of the Non-Resistance Society. Meanwhile the new organization had received the anathema of the religious press, with hardly an exception, and been expressly repudiated by the American Peace Society (its executive committee embracing Amasa Walker, Henry Ware, Jr., J. P. Blanchard, and George C. Beckwith), and by the New York Peace Society.

Lib. 8:204.

Lib. 8:163.

Lib. 8:168, 172.

Lib. 8:204.

When one reviews the various manifestations of anti-slavery activity during the year 1838 — in which, as has

been shown, Mr. Garrison, in spite of his ill-health and his many irons in the fire, had his full share—one agrees with the Massachusetts Board of Managers, in their address to abolitionists in August: "The mighty reaction is felt, and we are now going forward with wind and tide." State societies were increasing in number, even Connecticut at last wheeling into line, while its Legislature repealed the law aimed against Prudence Crandall's school, secured fugitive slaves the right to trial by jury, and joined in the Northern protest against the admission of new slave States, and assertion of the right and duty of Congress to abolish slavery in the District — truly, a marvellous change in five years. Local societies still multiplied at the rate of one a day.[1] Notwithstanding the hard times, funds had been forthcoming for the maintenance of a host of travelling lecturers, and for the myriad publications of the American Society. A system of circulating anti-slavery libraries for every town was hopefully initiated. State after State recorded its opposition to some one of the forms of pro-slavery lawlessness and aggrandizement, or manifested its tolerance of the abolitionists. Political conventions began to adopt anti-slavery resolves. The increased attendance of the clergy at anti-slavery meetings was remarked, together with the great spread of anti-slavery sentiment in the Methodist Church, giving rise already to an incipient schism, on account of the persecuting efforts of the bishops to repress agitation. Six out of twenty-eight Methodist conferences were thoroughly abolitionized, and it was estimated that a thousand itinerant clergymen of that denomination were abolitionists. In Massachusetts, five-sixths of the ministers of Franklin County, of all denominations, united in a declaration against slavery and in favor of immediate

Lib. 8:126.

Lib. 8:78.

Lib. 8:91.

Lib. 8:75.

Lib. 8:159.

Lib. 8:13, 19, 23, 28, 41, 64, 91.

Lib. 8:111.

Lib. 8:91.

Lib. 8:100.

Lib. 8:73, 99, 103, 123, 183.

Lib. 8:100.

Lib. 8:91.

[1] Notice, in Boston, the formation, Dec. 25. 1838, of a City Anti-Slavery Society, with Wendell Phillips for President, W. L. Garrison and Amasa Walker among the Vice-Presidents, Edmund Quincy for Treasurer, and Oliver Johnson for Corresponding Secretary (*Lib.* 8:207).

emancipation; and in the same spirit, but more weightily,
Lib. 8:33. a clerical convention assembled at Worcester delivered itself, under the inspiration and leadership of the Rev. George Allen.

Side by side with this moral and religious quickening, the political measures already employed by the abolitionists not only were maintained, but assumed a fresh and for the moment an overshadowing importance. Petitioning to Congress went on, in forms new and old, against the standing iniquity of Federal slaveholding, against impending extensions of the area of slavery,[1] against the denial of the right of petition itself. By the same means the Northern State legislatures were again incited to present resolves of a like tenor — to renew them when they had been unheeded — to protest against
Lib. 8:101. the affront when they were even unread and unconsidered. The catechising of candidates, Congressional and local, was unabated, and began to tell in non-elections. With almost absolute unanimity, however, the abolitionists refused to side with either party as such, and adopted the negative formula of duty — to vote for no man who would not take anti-slavery ground on the cardinal issues of the hour. They were ready, as
Lib. 8:115. Stanton said, to "stamp abolitionism upon all political parties," but they would neither commit themselves to any nor form a party of their own. The address of the
Ante, p. 243. Massachusetts Board cited above, which undertook to define the nature and limits of the political functions of
Lib. 8:126. abolitionists, pronounced a distinct party organization in the highest degree dangerous, if not fatal, to the
Ante, p. 209. cause, which would cease to be primarily religious. Such a party, being in the minority, would be exposed

[1] The bare enumeration of anti-slavery and anti-Texas memorials, largely from women, presented in the House of Representatives in one day, filled more than two broad columns of the *National Intelligencer* in small type (*Lib.* 8:19. See also 8:75). Rhett, of South Carolina, was so alarmed by the progress of abolitionism under defeat that he saw no alternative between a constitutional amendment prohibiting the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and a dissolution of the Union (*Lib.* 8:21).

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to temptations of expediency, and would draw to itself adventurers and the disappointed of other parties. East and West were harmonious in this view. The *Philanthropist*, in Cincinnati, opposed with forcible arguments the desire of some Ohio abolitionists to run a special candidate for Governor. At Utica, N. Y., Goodell, in his *Friend of Man*, ably and with much particularity set forth the political creed of abolitionists, which he summed up in one profession: "We will vote for no man who votes against liberty." His articles received the explicit endorsement of Mr. Garrison, who reproduced them in the *Liberator*, and their doctrine was embodied in the twenty-one resolutions on political action presently adopted, after a whole day's discussion, at the great meeting of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society at Utica in September.[1] In New York city, the *Emancipator* published approvingly the forms of political anti-slavery pledges beginning to be circulated there, and reading: "The undersigned, legal voters in the city of New York, will not vote for any man as Representative to Congress who is not in favor of the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia," etc. At the impressive Young Men's Convention held at Worcester, Mass., in October, with Goodell, Beriah Green, and H. B. Stanton in attendance, nineteen resolutions on political action were reported from the business committee, whose chairman was Wendell Phillips, Mr. Garrison being one of his colleagues. They bound abolitionists to vote for no man not opposed to slavery; to vote for immediate emancipationists irrespective of party; to bargain with neither Whigs nor Democrats; to merge in neither; to catechise the candidates of both. They claimed, nevertheless, the right to form an anti-slavery party, while advising against it.

Lib. 8:74.

Lib. 8:137, 141, 145, 149, 153.

Lib. 8:137.

Lib. 8:155, 158.

Lib. 8:159, 161, 162.

In a word — a word not yet formulated — the abolitionists, with perfect clear-sightedness, maintained that

[1] These were from Goodell's own pen (*Lib.* 8:158; Goodell's 'Slavery and Anti-Slavery,' p. 469).

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in the national politics slavery was, and must be made, *the main question*, all efforts of existing parties to the contrary notwithstanding. In this they differed from Orestes A. Brownson, who, vaunting his own practicality, asserted: "Our enquiry should be, What is the question for to-day? . . . The question for to-day is the currency question." And Brownson, of course, merely expressed the prevailing sentiment of the electorate at large.[1] The more sanguine and less patient temperaments among the abolitionists were beginning to feel that an anti-slavery *party* was an indispensable sign of the recognition of the main question, and their number was swelled when the fall elections of 1838 brought some disappointments: neither in Ohio nor in New York had the abolition vote affected the result as decidedly or extensively as was anticipated. It had not "come out," it had not discriminated. The impulsive Gerrit Smith was so far discouraged as to recommend new anti-slavery organizations of non-*pro-slavery* voters. "Let this be done," he said, "and the present anti-slavery societies will, of course, fall speedily to the ground." Mr. Garrison, on the other hand, objected to any "alteration in our constitutions with the vain hope of making morally dishonest men politically just."

Lib. 8: 169.

Lib. 8: 186, 201; 9: 18, 31.

Lib. 8: 186.

Logically, philosophically, and historically, it was the South that was dragging slavery into politics. The annexation of Texas (for the spread of the institution and the assured control of Federal legislation in regard to it), which was unremittingly prepared in that "Republic" and at Washington, was a high political question; the proposed admission of Florida as an additional slave

Lib. 8: 111.

[1] In the terse language of Francis Jackson, catechising Abbott Lawrence as to his views on abolition in the District, and resistance to the admission of more slave States (Oct. 18, 1839): "We thank God for the cheering conviction that not many years will pass before the sentiment must become prevalent in at least one-half this Union, that Man is more than Money; that the time is coming when that Whiggism will be deemed hypocritical, and that Democracy contemptibly spurious, which profess to find dangers to liberty in a Bank or a Sub-Treasury, while their fellow-man is perishing in the chains that one blow would strike from his limbs" (MS.)

State, was another. Third, and most pressing of all, for Northern liberties, was the nullification of the right of petition at the National Capitol, which had now reached its climax. After the passage of Patton's gag in December, 1837, the House of Representatives refused to take from the table the Massachusetts resolutions of protest against the previous gag; and later in the session it appeared that the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, entrusted with the subject of Texan annexation, pocketed, without bestowing the least attention on them, the various State resolves against the measure — an affront to "State sovereignty" without a parallel; even Calhoun (in the case of the Vermont anti-Texas resolutions) not being prepared to exclude such privileged communications. And while silence was thus imposed on States as upon individuals, in regard to vital and fundamental political questions, because slavery was involved in them, Senator Preston, the colleague of Calhoun, was winning the applause of his section by declaring in his seat, that "if an abolitionist come within the borders of South Carolina, and we can catch him, we will try him, and, notwithstanding all the interference of all the governments of the earth, *including this Federal Government*, WE WILL HANG HIM." This lawless and savage threat was heard without remonstrance by the senators from Massachusetts — Daniel Webster and John Davis.

Ante, p. 197.

Lib. 8: 7, 65.

Lib. 8: 101.

Lib. 8: 13.

Lib. 8: 11.

Lib. 8: 159, 161.

It remained for a Northern doughface, Charles G. Atherton, of New Hampshire, to offer the fourth gag-rule, devised by a pro-slavery caucus at the beginning of the next session, and adopted under the previous question on December 11 and 12, 1838.[1] The resolutions were prefaced by propositions unfounded in fact, irrelevant, illogical and illegal: (1) that Congress had no jurisdiction over slavery in the States; (2) that petitions for

Lib. 8: 202.

[1] Atherton's "venerable grandfather, in the [New Hampshire] Convention which adopted the U. S. Constitution, in a speech of great length, pathos, and eloquence, opposed that instrument on the ground of its recognition of slavery" (*Pennsylvania Freeman* in *Lib.* 9: 32).

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the abolition of slavery in the District and of the inter-State slave trade were part and parcel of a scheme to abolish slavery in the States; (3) that Congress could not do indirectly what it could not do directly; (4) that the anti-slavery agitation was unconstitutional, infringing the rights of the States — a breach of the public faith at the base of the Confederacy; (5) that Congress could not discriminate between the institutions of equal States, to abolish or promote.[1] Hence, it was the will of the House "that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper, touching or relating, in any way or to any extent whatever, to slavery or the abolition thereof, shall on presentation, without any further action thereon, be laid upon the table, without being debated, printed, or referred." The preamble was voted in detail, being opposed, in varying minorities, by the fire-eaters, represented by Wise, of Virginia[2] (who would not hear to the *reception* of petitions), as well as by Adams and his Northern supporters; but the gag was enforced by a vote of 126 to 78.[3]

Wilson's Rise and Fall of Slave Power, 1:395.

It would have been strange if in all this action and reaction the Colonizationists should not have been encouraged to lift up their heads. Refreshed by the riot and arson in Philadelphia, Gurley had ventured to renew

[1] Calhoun's resolutions *(ante*, p. 197), on the contrary, were at this very time urging the duty of the Government (as the common agent of the States to carry out delegated powers) to give "increased stability and security" to their domestic institutions. His colleague, Preston, rightly objected that this made the Government an intermeddler in favor of slavery, instead of a neutral *(Lib.* 8:7).

[2] On Dec. 17, Wise was called to order by the Speaker for a mere allusion to the doctrine "that it is constitutional to abolish slavery in the District." Such, under the new gag, was freedom of speech even for a pro-slavery extremist in Congress. In this same speech Wise embodied sections 2 and 4 of the Atherton preamble in his objection to receiving a memorial for the recognition of Haytian independence, viz., because it "is but part and parcel of the English scheme set on foot by Garrison, and to bring abolition as near as possible," and (consequently) "its ulterior object is unconstitutional" *(Lib.* 9:3).

[3] It was reported that in the caucus the Northern Administration men agreed to keep the slavery discussion out of Congress, if Southerners would vote for the Sub-Treasury Bill without the specie clause *(Lib.* 8:202).

his propaganda in the stronghold of the abolitionists, lecturing first to a distressingly slim audience in the great Odeon, and with hardly more satisfaction in the smaller Marlboro' Chapel, which had escaped the fate of Pennsylvania Hall. He reported to the annual meeting of the Society in Washington that the colonizationists of Boston were paralyzed by the abolition spirit:

Lib. 8:191, 195.

"They appeared, as many did, to be under the spell cast upon them by the individual (Garrison) who represents the abolition cause. Whatever might be thought of that man, it was useless . . . to deny to him either talent or influence. That man had powers capable of effecting mighty purposes. He had power to excite and direct the imaginations and passions of men. He was equal to efforts which go to the subversion of governments, and to effect great moral revolutions in society. Mr. Gurley had no doubt that this individual acted under an illusion cast about him by his own powerful imagination. His purpose, no doubt, was, like Moses or like Mahomet, to effect a great revolution in civil society, and to be the founder of a new basis of civil and social institutions."[1]

Lib. 8:202.

This was complimentary in comparison with the accusations brought against Mr. Garrison by Cresson's brother-in-law and fellow-colonizationist, the Rev. Mr. Dickey, who publicly accused the editor of the *Liberator* of Fanny Wrightism — of advocating the equal division of property, the prostration of all law, the abrogation of marriage, and the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes

Lib. 8:27, 46.

The real and the spurious "main questions" thus came in conflict, and the spurious succeeded, as usual, by a dicker. See, for a review of the history of the first three gags, J. Q. Adams's letter to J. G. Alvord (*Lib.* 8:65); and, of the Atherton gag, Adams's letter to the citizens of the U. S. (*Lib.* 9:69), and Caleb Cushing's report to the people of Massachusetts (*Lib.* 9:13). The prohibition against *reading* the petitions contained in the Patton gag was dropped, probably for prudential reasons; but a subservient Speaker was ready to rule it present by implication, even to suppress a communication from a "sovereign State" (*Lib.* 9:30).

[1] Compare Edmund Quincy's tribute to the same "individual" as "one of those rare spirits which Heaven, at distant periods, sends upon the earth on holiest missions. . . . 'The only righteous in a world perverse'" (Speech on Jan. 26, 1838, before the Mass. A. S. Society in the Representatives' Hall of the State House; *Lib.* 8: 21, 22).

—and offered to prove it from his writings. Mr. Dickey
Lib. 8:46. even went so far as to call him a Hicksite Quaker — no anti-climax in Cresson's orthodox connection, and quite the equivalent of calling a man an "infidel." This latter form had now become the favorite one in the mouths of
Lib. 8:169. those clergymen who were seeking to make it a pretext for driving Mr. Garrison from the management of the cause. Such an one, in Vermont, in the early summer, had denounced him from the pulpit as a Sabbath-breaker, an enemy to the Christian religion, a disturber of the peace of society, a violator of all law, both human and divine. Language like this, which might well have been reserved for arch-criminals, could not fail to inculcate a lamentably false idea of Mr. Garrison's moral character among the public at large, and even to disquiet distant friends. In the present instance the following private vindication seemed called for:

Francis Jackson to Jesse Stedman, at Chester, Vt.

MS. BOSTON, June 20, 1838.

Yours of the 13th inst. was duly received, relative to the charges brought against Wm. Lloyd Garrison by a minister of the gospel. I reply to them with pleasure from my long personal knowledge of Mr. Garrison.

I would remark in the outset, that I believe the overthrow of slavery to be the greatest moral question of the age; that it is the undoubted right and the conscientious duty of *all* to unite their efforts for its immediate extermination; and that, in order to insure unity of action, it is proper for each so far to respect the religious and political views of all as to move forward with harmony and energy in one unbroken rank. As a humble member of this great body of the true friends of the slave, I have endeavored, I trust, to adhere to this rule in good faith. I do not, therefore, know, except incidentally or accidentally, what are the religious or political opinions of those with whom I am proud to be associated. Nor do I know what Mr. Garrison's religious views are; but I do verily believe him to be a meek and humble follower of Christ, sincerely desiring to know and endeavoring to do the will of God. In short, I do not know a more thorough and consistent Christian.

I am aware that many would exclaim with surprise, What! do you pronounce him to be a Christian without knowing his religious opinions? How do you arrive at such a conclusion? Answer: in the same manner that I judge of a tree — "by its fruits." I am, however, told that his theological opinions coincide very nearly with those of the Quakers. I will now proceed very hastily and briefly to reply to the accusations against him.

1st. A Sabbath breaker. This may or may not be true. It would depend upon the standard set up for Sabbath keeping. According to the opinions and interpretation of some, very few, if any, would escape from that charge. Mr. Garrison, I am told, holds it to be lawful to do good on the Sabbath; he would, as far as he had the power, heal the "withered arm" on that day, or the withered souls which (it grieves me to say it) professing Christians as well as others in our land have ruined. His doctrine is not that we should keep the Sabbath less holy, but that we should keep it and all other days more so.

2d. An enemy to the Christian religion. If this charge had read — an enemy to hypocrisy under the garb of the Christian religion, it would have been true; but as it stands it is wholly untrue. He is a distinguished ornament of the Christian religion. You cannot read any of his works without seeing that his mind and heart are deeply penetrated by faith in the gospel.

3d. A disturber of the peace of society. This is true in the sense that Christ and the Apostle Paul disturbed the peace of society in their day, by the doctrines they proclaimed. It is true in no other sense; on the contrary, the reverse of this charge is literally true. Society has disturbed his peace most outrageously and most unlawfully, to my positive knowledge.

4th. A violator of all law, both human and divine. This charge not only destroys itself, but renders the whole series unworthy of notice. It must have proceeded from a very weak and prejudiced mind. Consider for a moment the circumstances under which Mr. Garrison commenced his labors for the poor lost slave — without money or friends; with nearly the whole body of his countrymen against him; with the most deadly hostility of the slaveholders and their abettors, up to this hour; with a standing reward for his person of $5,000 upon the statute-book of a sovereign State of this Union, that would have been increased to almost any amount by other slave States, etc., etc. What, now, think you of a man thus situated and watched by a host of enemies thirsting for his

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blood, deliberately violating all the laws of God and man? It would have been just the wish of his enemies to have caught him thus — they would have crucified him without ceremony. We must remember, also, that those who sought to take his life under any pretence would of course take his character under any pretence. How extremely weak, or how excessively wicked, must be the man who prefers such an accusation.

His character is not only spotless, but has never been impeached. Those who would slander him do prudently in making their charges thus vague. Every vile epithet in the language has been heaped upon his devoted head; he heeds them not, but holds on his virtuous course without wavering. It is not Mr. Garrison that violates the laws of God; it is his opponents that do this, for which they are made to feel most keenly the scorching severity of his rebukes. Of him it has been aptly said, that he severs at a blow what others would be a great while in sawing off.

The justly celebrated and discriminating English lady, Miss Martineau, who travelled in our country in 1836, says that having heard every species of abuse of Mr. Garrison, she resolved

Ante, p. 69. to have an interview with him, which she thus describes. . . .

These extracts are taken from the second volume of Miss Martineau's 'Retrospect of Western Travel.' I recommend to your notice her whole description of the man, which I think remarkably just. As Mr. Garrison is now absent to spend the summer in Connecticut, I shall suggest to the pro tem. editor

Lib. 8: 104. of the *Liberator* to publish in the next *Liberator* Miss Martineau's whole description of Mr. Garrison.

I send also per mail the Prospectus to the 8th volume of the *Liberator*, and a poetical effusion entitled "True Rest," which will give you some idea of his religious opinions and views of human government.

"New organization" had, to all appearance, made no

Lib. 8: 31. progress during the year. On February 15, the Rev. E. M. P. Wells had called the Boston Evangelical Anti-Slavery Society to order, his qualification for this function consisting in his avowedly not having seen or read the *Liberator* for two years past. Fitch was the chief speaker, but the membership was not enlarged beyond the original group of Appellants. A little later, their

Lib. 8: 71. organ, the *Spectator*, died of inanition. Nevertheless, the

seed of discord had been planted, and was growing out of sight. At the close of the year it was ready to spring up and blossom. The first outward sign was the resignation, on the 20th of December, of Amos A. Phelps as General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. *MS.*

W. L. Garrison to Mary Benson, at Providence.

BOSTON, December 23, 1838. *MS.*

The annual meeting of our State Anti-Slavery Society will be held on the 23d of January, and will be well worth your attendance, on the score of interest. I anticipate an animated, almost a stormy scene. Facts are daily coming to my ears which show that the spirit of sectarianism is busy at its old game of division — working in darkness, and secretly endeavoring to transfer our sacred cause to other hands. The leaders in this work of mischief are clerical abolitionists. The plot is extensively laid, and the wires are pulled skilfully. It will be managed much more ingeniously than was the "Clerical Appeal" affair. Torrey, of Salem, (formerly of Providence), is one of the most active of the plotters. I understand the plan is, to rally at our annual meeting, elect a different board of managers, start a new anti-slavery paper, to be the organ of the Society, etc., etc. The "woman question" is also to be met and settled so as to suit the priesthood, or the probability is, there will be a division. Here, then, are materials for an excited anniversary. I do not mean that my annual report shall be a quiet document. . . . What will be the result of this matter is now problematical. I think, however, that the counsels of the froward will be carried headlong. Perhaps, after all, the plotters will be afraid to divulge their purposes, and will conclude that discretion is the better part of valor. I hope so; for every such outbreak but encourages the common enemy, and breeds mutual distrust and jealousy. . . . *Rev. Charles T. Torrey.*

Bro. H. C. Wright was with us last week, but has returned to Newburyport to rest a short time in the bosom of his family. He has prepared a tract on human governments which, when published, will doubtless stir up the feelings of community. It shows, in a simple and lucid manner, that national organizations, as now constructed, are essentially anti-Christian, and utterly at war with the gospel of Christ. . . .

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Edmund Quincy to H. C. Wright, at Newburyport.

BOSTON, December 31, 1838.

MS. I received your missive, full of combustible matter, enough to set the whole U. S. mail on fire, in due course. I was well content with the doctrines therein laid down, and should be glad to have the tract printed and circulated. I showed it to Garrison, who doubts as to the expediency of distributing the good seed at the Annual Meeting, as you propose. He thinks that we shall have the imputation of endeavoring to mix up Abolition and Non-Resistance urged upon us vehemently enough, without this measure, which would no doubt be construed into one of offensive warfare. He thinks that it [will] have the appearance of a *ruse*, to draw people's attention from the business of that meeting to the discussion of the N. R. doctrines; and that it will be best to avoid even the appearance of evil. There will be plenty of fight provided for the meeting, so that your warlike propensities will not probably rust for want of employment. Your tract, we think, had better be published by our Society as we have means, and distributed as our other tracts will be.

Non-Resistance Society.

Garrison promises well about the Annual Report, and says it shall be ready in time.[1]

More dangerous than the proposed new organ was the annually recurring deficit in the *Liberator's* accounts. Knapp's management of the publication had as usual been most unbusinesslike, and he had further embarrassed himself by carrying on an Anti-Slavery Depository, at No. 25 Cornhill, printing with a generous recklessness pamphlet after pamphlet without regard to returns, and keeping his books in such confusion as to deprive him of his just dues. Add to this that he had married unadvisedly. Already his financial wreck was clearly to be

[1] Mr. Quincy's characteristic postscript should not be lost: "I'll tell thee what, friend Wright, there are certain things which I hold even a Non-Resistant is not bound to submit to. If in directing any of your future letters to me you see fit to affix to my name the addition of *Armiger*, I shall feel myself remitted to the Law of Nature, the great *Lex Talionis*, and shall direct my reply to the REV. HENRY C. WRIGHT, D. D. It's hard that when, according to Lord Monboddo's theory, men have got rid of the tails to their bodies, they should still have them tacked to their names."

predicted, and the thought of it began to prey heavily upon the poor man's spirit. A forlorn advertisement for a loan appeared week after week in the *Liberator*. The following letter to his old partner and still co-proprietor of the paper depicts his state of mind: *Lib.* 8: 111.

Isaac Knapp to W. L. Garrison, at Brooklyn.

BOSTON, September 12, 1838. *MS.*

DEAR FRIEND: Accept my thanks for your kind and affectionate letter. I am truly grateful for your recollections of the past. Although I never doubt your affection for me, yet, as time passes and circumstances alter, it is refreshing and encouraging to have, now and then, a renewal of your continued regard for me, however unworthy of such regard I may esteem myself. . . .

During the past summer I have had a very good degree of health; but, as far as pecuniary matters are concerned, it has been the most anxious and wearisome season I ever experienced. The truth is, that, according to my means and ability, I have undertaken too much business. The bookstore, although profitable, has embarrassed me, for the want of capital. You, I think, will believe me when I say, that I assumed the responsibility of keeping a book establishment mainly for the purpose of having a place open for the general resort of the friends of the cause, and supplying our friends from the country with such tracts, etc., as they might [wish]. Profit I never anticipated: to make both ends meet was all I ever desired. You know, too, that of monied capital I was utterly destitute, and, also, that I possess but a very little of that cent per cent principle which I find to be absolutely more necessary for continued success in a large business than money itself. But I cannot acquire it: I had rather, a thousand times, that my property be sacrificed, and be myself imprisoned, than that any debtor of mine suffer through my agency. My creditors, I think, will not suffer, for, I believe, I have enough to satisfy them all.

My business has, imperceptibly almost, become quite extensive, and, for the lack of the several kinds of the foregoing capital, it is embarrassing, although I am sure it has been profitable, and is daily becoming more so. My stock, exclusive of printing apparatus, has accumulated to $4000, wholesale prices, and I cannot turn it fast enough to meet my

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payments. I should have met every payment, however, had I not, in various ways, during the past year, been deprived of about $1000, which I allotted upon to meet payments which are now becoming due, and which I have not the means to meet. So that, I must either fail, obtain an extension from my creditors, or sell out my stock at a fair valuation. The latter, of course, would be most agreeable. The bookstore has done the cause good service, I am sure, and ought not to be abandoned. With a small capital it can be made profitable. All things considered, I cannot but think that justice — not *legal*, but moral, justice — upon a fair representation of my concerns to the Board of the Mass. A. S. S., would induce them to take the stock, appoint an agent, and continue the store as usual. This would enable me to pay off my debts and hold up my head, and, in the end, be a pecuniary benefit to the Society, as I firmly believe.

The *Liberator* I still desire to hold on to, as printer, and want but a fair price for the work. For the past three years I have labored under many disadvantages in printing it, and have been subject to several expenses in relation to it, which the changes in public sentiment would enable me to avoid. Still, I think 40 cents per 1000 ems and 80 cents per token is nothing more than a fair price. But if it is thought best, I am willing to leave the concern entirely, provided the Society or individuals will take my stock and materials and pay my creditors as their demands become due, I guaranteeing that the stock and materials, at a fair valuation, shall amount to a sufficient sum to meet all demands.

Knowing the interest you take in my welfare, I have thus given you a candid though not a detailed statement of my affairs, hoping for your advice. . . .

My visit to Brooklyn will always be remembered with delight and gratitude. Be kind enough to remember me to all the family.

Ever, unalterably, yours, ISAAC KNAPP.

Lib. 8: 199, 207.

Pity prevailed in the end, and an agreement for Knapp's and Mr. Garrison's support was entered into by Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, and William Bassett, acting as a committee to supervise the finances of the *Liberator*. Knapp was allowed to continue to print the paper on the terms indicated by himself, and with some consideration in the way of advertising space for

his exclusive profit. A part of the scheme embraced the employment of Oliver Johnson, as General Agent, to take charge of the business correspondence of the paper, promote its circulation, and render such editorial assistance as he might to Mr. Garrison, who on his part was to be "entirely free and untrammelled in the performance of his editorial duties." The prospectus of the ninth volume pledged the paper, as of old, not to make war upon sect or party any further than sect or party made war upon bleeding humanity; not to assail any man's creed or promulgate the editor's peculiar theological sentiments; not to assail the station of the clergy or the authority of the church. A small portion of its space would continue to be devoted, as heretofore, to the free discussion of the subject of peace. Retrospectively, Mr. Garrison had this pointed word for gradualism:

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Lib. 8: 207.

Lib. 8: 207.

"Our cry, from the commencement, was for the immediate deliverance of the oppressed from chains and slavery. For this we were ranked among madmen. It was said that nothing but gradual emancipation was either safe or practicable: how gradual, no man undertook to show. Well — eight years have passed away. During that period, not less than four hundred thousand slaves have been emancipated by death, and their places supplied by more than half a million of new victims. Is not this a long time for 'preparation'? But who are better prepared for liberty now than they were eight years ago? None. And we seriously ask, Has not the experience of two centuries shown that gradualism in theory is perpetuity in practice? Is there an instance, in the history of the world, where slaves have been educated for freedom by their taskmasters? But if — by any management or contrivance — such an event had happened, or such scholastic treatment had been successfully given, still our cry would continue to be for immediate and unconditional emancipation; because to predicate a right to enslave men upon their ignorance, much more upon the complexion of their skin, is absurd, inhuman, monstrous. If the lapse of two hundred years be not sufficient to meet the claims of gradualism, (the rights of man out of the question), no quarter should longer be given to it by any friend of God or man."

Lib. 8: 207.

CHAPTER V.

SHALL THE LIBERATOR LEAD? — 1839.

UP to the year 1839, the momentum of the anti-slavery agitation had overcome all obstacles from without, all minor differences within. Look where you will — in the growth of its State and local organizations, the increase of its membership and resources, the multiplication of its organs, its progress within church and party lines, its success in alarming the Slave Power — its development had assumed tremendous proportions. Internally, but one danger had, from the beginning, menaced it, namely, sectarianism; and to this, Mr. Garrison's steadfastly unsectarian character and determination had hitherto proved an insurmountable barrier. The Unitarian attempt to muzzle him with a censorship; the Orthodox Congregational contrivances of an "American Union" and an "Evangelical Anti-Slavery Society"; Pastoral Letters and Clerical Appeals, had all failed of their object to depose and silence him by drawing off his supporters. No organization, however plausible its philanthropic excuse for being, could endure upon the simple basis of hostility to an individual, and that individual the founder of the movement to which it was necessary to do homage while trying to divert or subvert it. Nor would the sectarian issue over the right of female members of the anti-slavery societies to take an equal part in the regular proceedings — to vote, to speak, to serve on committees — have furnished a practicable basis of schism in the ranks. Combine with the clerical,

Ante, 1:462.

Ante, 1:469; 2:252.

the sabbatarian, and the anti-woman prejudices against Mr. Garrison those aroused by his latest peace doctrines, and the cord would still have been insufficient to bind the monster. The American sense of humor would, sooner or later, have been touched by the spectacle of ministers panic-stricken at a reformer who repudiated all violence, in the spirit and example and on the express authority of their Master. To all appearance this was the weakest strand in the quadruple cord. To show how it unexpectedly became the strongest, will be the burden of the present chapter.

In surveying the anti-slavery field up to this time, two centres of activity are preëminent: Boston, the fountain of the agitation, the home of the *Liberator;* and New York, the seat of the Parent Society, the home of the *Emancipator.* Remark, also, Utica, the seat of the New York State Society, and home of Goodell and his *Friend of Man;* home, likewise, of Alvan Stewart, whose nearly successful effort to commit the American Society to the doctrine of Federal control over slavery in the States was recorded in the last chapter. Not far to the west, at Peterboro', lives Gerrit Smith, anxious, as we have seen, to convert the moral basis of the anti-slavery organization into a political one; and still beyond, in Rochester, lives Myron Holley, known as yet chiefly as an anti-Mason and as the man to whom, perhaps, next to De Witt Clinton, New York owed her magnificent Erie Canal.[1] In this central belt of the State was now maturing a political anti-slavery party movement which Mr. Garrison — not alone nor most strenuously — resisted on purely anti-slavery grounds; which found it necessary to break his opposition, and which accordingly joined in the clerical hue-and-cry against the non-voting conclusion of his non-resistant premises — a conclusion addressed to non-resistants alone, however applicable to abolitionists Once more the disintegrating sectarian influences

Ante, p. 210.

Ante, p. 246.

[1] "As a writer he had few superiors in any country; and he always conducted his controversies with dignity and candor" (W. L. G. in *Lib.* 11:43).

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united in a grand attack on the *Liberator* and its editor, and if again without success according to their prime intention, nevertheless with deplorable consequences to the cause of the slave.

The chief agitator in the new direction was Henry B. Stanton, who was shortly to marry a cousin of Gerrit Smith, and who now, with less tolerance than the latter, endeavored, in conjunction with "some half a dozen clerical brethren, to make it a moral and religious duty for every abolitionist entitled to vote to go to the polls; and if he refused, on any ground whatever, then to brand him as recreant to the cause of the slave. This," said Mr. Garrison, in February, 1839, "is the whole matter in a nut-shell." Mr. Stanton, as an employee of the New York Executive Committee, was not unacquainted with their disposition to "cashier" Mr. Garrison for his course in regard to the Clerical Appeal. He judged, from the feeling manifested by Phelps and other Massachusetts dissidents concerning the woman question, that the occasion for cashiering was now ripe. He openly acquitted the *Liberator* of blame for discussing questions not connected with slavery; he cared nothing for the editor's views about the Sabbath or Perfectionism or woman. His sole argument was, that any man subscribing to the Declaration of Sentiments of the Non-Resistance Society was thereby disqualified from being an abolitionist under the Constitution of the American Society. To this view he first gave public utterance in a speech delivered before the Middlesex Anti-Slavery Society at Cambridgeport, Mass., on January 22, 1839, following it up at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Society the next day.[1] His official connection and the express application of his remarks to Mr. Garri-

Lib. 9:31.

Ante, p. 169.

Lib. 9:34.

Lib. 9:123; *Right and Wrong in Mass.*, 1839, *pp.* 98–104.

[1] A few weeks before, he had been unanimously chosen General Agent of the Massachusetts Society by its Board, to succeed Phelps (*Lib.* 9:3), but he does not appear to have accepted the position, as, indeed, with a good conscience, he could not. (See for his probable dallying with the proposition till after the annual meeting of the Mass. A. S. Society, when the old Board was sustained, Goodell's letter of Feb. 5, 1839, in *Lib.* 9:148.)

son showed the hostile animus of the New York Executive Committee, and prepared the abolitionists of the East for the speedy development of the breach which already existed between it and the Massachusetts Board of Managers.

The year opened, in fact, on a serious but as yet private difference between these two bodies as to their financial relations. Soon after the Parent Society was founded, difficulties began to arise, as to collections and credits, between them and their auxiliaries, caused naturally by the overlapping of agencies, State and national, and the confusion of accounts both in giving and receiving moneys on behalf of the cause. These became so intolerable that at the New York anniversary in May, 1838, the American Society recommended that each State work its own territory, and guarantee stated payments to the national treasury, on condition that the American agents should not interfere except to coöperate with the local organization. This was agreed to by the Massachusetts Board, which made a pledge of $10,000, payable in instalments—a sum only slightly below that already paid in for the year ending May 1, 1838, which surpassed the contribution from New York State, was five times as large as that from Ohio (with many more societies to draw from), and more than all the rest of New England, with Pennsylvania into the bargain. Owing to various causes, however, the instalment of November 1 was in arrear, and the Massachusetts Board was summoned by the Executive Committee to recede at once from the contract and throw open their territory to American collectors. To this the Board objected, alleging old embarrassments that would return in force, and protesting against the centralization of the anti-slavery direction. No body of men, they said, ought to be entrusted with exclusive charge of the enterprise. They would cast no reflection on the present Executive Committee, but its successors might be of a very different stripe. The politician and the sectary were lying in wait to capture the

Right and Wrong in Mass., 1839, p. 10; *Lib.* 9: 118.

Lib. 9: 30, 35.

Lib. 9: 31.

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anti-slavery organization in the plenitude of its strength, and prudence demanded a distribution of power.

That the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was to be the battle-ground between the opposing forces, was known a full month in advance. The strategy of the clerical schismatics had been revealed to the Board by the Rev. Philo C. Pettibone, of Andover, and steps were instantly taken to baffle it. Mr. Pettibone had received in December, 1838, a letter from Torrey, which "dwelt on the great influence of Mr. Garrison in Massachusetts, and thence argued that it would not be safe to attack him or the *Liberator* openly; on the great need of a new paper — which he (Mr. Torrey) had ascertained by sounding the clergymen throughout the State, and they were for it to a man." "Now, Brother P.," in substance continued the writer, "have on a full delegation at the Annual Meeting at 10 o'clock in the morning, prepared to stay two days. Have them pledged to go for the new paper, and to *spar* the annual report, and we will show them how it is done." On January 4, 1839, Mr. Garrison wrote to Mr. May, urging him to be present at the meeting, and apprising him of the "deplorable and alarming conspiracy":

Ante, *p.* 253.

Right and Wrong in Mass., 1839, *p.* 66; *Lib.* 9 : 191.

MS.

"The game, thus far, has been so adroitly played that not a few well-meaning abolitionists have been drawn into it. Phelps and Torrey are foremost in the matter, backed up by Stanton, St. Clair, and others. They expect, by drilling, to be able at the annual meeting to so change the present Board of Managers as to be able to do as they please. There is no mistake in all this,—and it is a sad revelation. Our Board fully understand the movement, and, in order to counteract it as far as possible, have this day resolved to publish a monthly sheet, (rather larger than the *Human Rights*), to be called the *Abolitionist*, and to be edited by a committee, consisting of Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy and myself,[1] for gratuitous

[1] More particularly, of what preceded, Mr. Garrison wrote to G. W. Benson on Jan. 5, 1839: "I made a proposition at our Board meeting to raise a committee, to report upon the expediency of publishing a monthly periodical, as the organ of the Society, for the use of auxiliaries, etc. Phelps was not present, but he was nominated by one of his friends

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distribution on the part of auxiliary societies. More than this our cause does not require. An effort will be made, by the plotters, at the annual meeting, to wholly change this publication — and perhaps with success. The 'woman question' will also be another bone of contention. Whichever way it may be decided, we may expect to see a withdrawal from the Society; but if it be decided right, I care not how many of the sectarians leave. The less we have of them, the better. I am inclined to think that bros. Scott and Colver will both go in favor of a new paper. If this hostility to the *Liberator* were carried on openly, I should care little about it; but it is fomented secretly, and in a mean and treacherous manner. I could tell you some instructive facts and occurrences, had I more room. . . .

Rev. Orange Scott. Rev. Nathaniel Colver.

"In the next paper, I mean to throw out signals, to call in to the annual meeting all the unflinching and trusty friends of our cause in this State and elsewhere. I shall call no names, but plainly allude to what is brewing. . . .

Lib. 9:7.

"Within two days, my head has troubled me, something after the manner of last winter. My Report is not yet begun, but it shall be ready — rely upon it."

The editorial page of the *Liberator* for January 11, 1839, was well calculated to disturb the secret plotters against its existence. First, in order, to arrest their attention, was a letter from Wendell Phillips to the committee charged with its financial management:

"I regard," wrote he, "the success of the *Liberator* as identical with that of the abolition cause itself. Though so bitterly

Lib. 9:7.

[Joseph H. Eayrs], and Edmund Quincy and myself. It happened that he did not return in season from Haverhill to consult with us, and we accordingly made our report to the Board on Friday [Dec. 28, 1838] — to wit, that such a monthly ought to be printed, officially, to be called the *Abolitionist*, and to be edited by a committee of three, to be elected by ballot. This report was strenuously opposed by Mr. P.'s friend (Ayres), on the ground that a weekly paper was called for, and would doubtless be established — that it would be better to defer the whole matter to the annual meeting — that the probability was, there would be a change in the Board, etc. Thus we had 'the cat let out of the bag.' The report was, however, accepted, and Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy and myself were elected editors. We shall have the specimen number issued forthwith, in season for the annual meeting" (MS.) On learning what had taken place in his absence, "Mr. Phelps said, with much agitation, that such a paper would by no means answer the demand. His words and his manner were a sufficient assurance that the plot had gone too far to be arrested by any possible effort of the Massachusetts Board" ('Right and Wrong in Mass.,' 1839, p. 71).

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opposed, it does more to disseminate, develop and confirm our principles than any other publication whatever. The spirit which produced still animates it, and with magnetic influence draws from all parts of society everything like around it. Other measures may suit different circumstances and other parts of the country; but here, and now, the spirit of the *Liberator* is the touchstone of true hearts. Almost all the opposition it has met with, various as it seems, springs from one cause. At starting, some who agreed with its principles (1) denounced it as 'foul-mouthed and abusive'; next, the occasional expression of some individual opinions of its editor gained it the name of 'irreligious and Jacobin'; and now some point to its peace views as infidel in their tendency, and a stumbling-block in our way. Under all these disguises have men concealed their motives, sometimes even from themselves.

"The real cause of this opposition, in my opinion, is the fundamental principle upon which the *Liberator* has been conducted:—that rights are more valuable than forms; that truth is a better guide than prescription; that no matter how much truth a sect embodies, no matter how useful a profession may be, no matter how much benefit any form of government may confer, still they are all but dust in the balance when weighed against the protection of human rights, the discussion and publication of great truths; that all forms of human device are worse than useless when they stand in Truth's way. These are its principles; frank, fearless singleheartedness, the utmost freedom of thought and speech, its characteristics. If we fail to impress these on each abolition heart, our efforts are paralyzed and our cause is lost. Pride of settled opinion, love of lifeless forms, undue attachment to sect, are its foes.

"With the fullest charity for all conscientious scruples, and dissenting, as I do, from the peace views of the *Liberator*, I cannot see how their discussion, conducted in a Christian spirit, and with sincere love of truth, can offend the conscience of any man. Limited to a brief space, as it is, it can have no effect on the general character of the paper. I mean to give it all my influence, (and, in this crisis, when the paper so much needs its friends, I wish that influence were greater), to gain it the confidence, and pour its spirit into the mind, of every one I can reach. I shall esteem it a privilege to second your efforts. The danger I most dread is, to have our cause fall under the control

"(1) Only in the '*abstract*.'—ED."

of any party, sect, or profession. That way ruin lies. The chiefest bulwark against it I know of is the *Liberator*. Success to it. May it have the cordial support of every abolition heart."

Such a testimonial from such a source was discouraging enough; but fairly startling was Mr. Garrison's article, "Watchman, What of the Night?" in the adjoining column. This abruptly declared the approaching annual meeting to be "pregnant with momentous consequences to the abolition cause in this section of the country." Never, perhaps, was there greater cause for alarm. "Strong foes are without, insidious plotters are within the camp." The foes without were political. The Democratic party being hopelessly given over to the defence of slavery and the denial of free speech, the Whigs were cherishing the hope, by a display of courtesy and even liberality towards the abolitionists, of bringing these under their control and management:

Lib. 9:7.

"But all external opposition, in whatever form it may appear, is harmless, compared to internal sedition. And with pain we avow it, there is a deep scheme laid by individuals at present somewhat conspicuous as zealous and active abolitionists, to put the control of the anti-slavery movement in this Commonwealth into other hands. This scheme, of course, is of clerical origin, and the prominent ringleaders fill the clerical office. One of the most restless was a participant in the infamous 'Clerical Appeal' conspiracy, though not one of the immortal FIVE. The design is, by previous management and drilling, to effect such a change in the present faithful and liberal-minded Board of Managers of the State Society, at the annual meeting, as will throw the balance of power into the hands of a far different body of men, for the accomplishment of ulterior measures which are now in embryo. The next object is, to effect the establishment of a new weekly anti-slavery journal, to be the organ of the State Society, for the purpose, if not avowedly, yet designedly, to subvert the *Liberator*, and thus relieve the abolition cause in this State of the odium of countenancing such a paper. Then —— make way for the clergy! For, by 'hanging Garrison' and repudiating the *Liberator*, they will surely condescend to take the reins of anti-slavery management into their own hands!

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"The plot, thus far, has been warily managed, so, if possible, to 'deceive the very elect.' Many, we know, are already ensnared, and some, at least, who neither intend nor suspect mischief. The guise in which it is presented is one of deep solicitude for the success of our cause. No attempt is to be made to lower down the standard — O no! — but simply to change the men to whom has been entrusted the management of the enterprise, and put in their place younger men, better men, who will accomplish wonders, and perform their duties more faithfully — that's all! While, privately, by conversation, letters, circulars, etc., etc., every effort is making to disparage the *Liberator* (the paper is too tame for these rampant plotters!) and to calumniate its editor, no hostility to either is to be openly avowed! Far from it; for honesty in this case might not, peradventure, prove to be the best policy.

"The shape in which this new project is to be urged, is developed in the resolutions which were adopted at the recent meeting of the Worcester County North Division A. S. Society, at Fitchburg. (See the proceedings in another column.) These resolutions were concocted in Essex County, by the joint labors of two clergymen, and passed as above stated — only four or five hands, we learn, being raised in their favor. The plan is, it seems, to get as many anti-slavery societies committed in favor of these resolutions, before the annual meeting, as possible. The *political* necessity which is urged for another paper is ridiculous; and we know it is nothing but a hollow pretence."

Lib. 9:7.

The two clergymen alluded to in this exposure were Charles Turner Torrey, of Salem, and Alanson St. Clair. The former, a man "with a fair share of talent," and "more than ordinary energy and activity of execution," had originated the plan of a new paper, and, ever since the late New England Convention, had been the chief intriguer for it. It was he who had written to congratulate Fitch, with "unmingled satisfaction," on the Clerical Appeal. St. Clair, in company with a third clergyman, the Rev. Nathaniel Colver, of Boston, had gone up to Fitchburg on January 3, 1839, to engineer the resolutions of his drafting. They were adroitly introduced at such an hour as to prevent the usual scrutiny and discussion, and in such terms as to disarm

Lib. 9:11.

Lib. 9:14.

Lib. 9:11.

suspicion. Those which were aimed directly at Mr. Garrison and the *Liberator* were the following: CHAP. V. 1839.

"1. Resolved, That the object sought to be secured by the anti-slavery enterprise, and the means by which this object is to be attained, are compatible with the tenderest exercise of Christianity, and nowise calculated to thwart the principles of our holy religion, nor to disturb evangelical peace. *Lib.* 9:7.

"6. Whereas, slavery is the creature of legislation, upheld and supported by law, and is to be abolished by law, and by law only; and

"Whereas, in order to secure its legal overthrow, the legislative bodies having power over the same must be composed of good men and true, who will go for its immediate abolition; and

"Whereas, it is impossible to obtain such a legislative body, unless abolitionists carry their principles to the ballot-box, and vote only for men of this character; and

"Whereas, it is impossible to urge this duty on the consideration of abolitionists without an able paper, which will take this ground and maintain it *consistently, firmly, and constantly:* Therefore,

"Resolved, 1st, That, in the opinion of this Society, every abolitionist is in duty bound not to content himself with merely refusing to vote for any man who is opposed to the emancipation of the slave, BUT TO GO TO THE POLLS, AND THROW HIS VOTE FOR SOME MAN KNOWN TO FAVOR IT.

"2d. That it is his imperious duty to make inalienable human rights the first and paramount principle in political action; and, when any two candidates for Congress or the State Legislature are put in nomination, one for and the other against the immediate abolition of slavery, he is in duty bound to vote for the abolitionist, independent of all other political considerations; or, if neither candidate be of this description, then he is equally bound to go to the polls, and vote for some true man in opposition to them both, and to do all he can, lawfully, to defeat their election.

"3d. That a weekly and ably conducted anti-slavery paper, which shall take right, high, and consistent ground on this subject, and constantly urge abolitionists, as in duty bound, to use their political, as well as their moral and religious, power and rights for the immediate overthrow of slavery, is now greatly needed in Massachusetts, as has been but too plainly

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proved, at the expense of the cause, by the difficulties which have been experienced in the Fourth Congressional District, in reaching the anti-slavery electors on the subject of their political duties.

"4th. That we therefore earnestly recommend to the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, or to the Society itself at its next annual meeting, to establish a paper of this description, of about the size and price of the *Herald of Freedom* — to be issued every week to subscribers — to be exclusively confined to slavery and abolition — to urge, constantly, political as well as moral and religious action — to be edited by some able, efficient man, who can conscientiously and heartily advocate all these points — and to be under the entire control of the Executive Committee of the State Society."

Lib. 9: 11, 14.

These resolutions, having been adopted at Fitchburg, were expedited by Phelps and Torrey to every society whose meeting was to occur before that of the State Society, while St. Clair attended in person to ensure their being carried. In general, this short campaign was a failure except at Fall River, where the same adroitness manifested at Fitchburg persuaded the Bris-

Lib. 9: 14.

tol County Anti-Slavery Society to vote that there was great need of a weekly organ of the State Society, and to recommend the *Liberator* if it could be made such — if not, a new one, after the Fitchburg pattern. Further, to resolve, "That we have undiminished confidence in William Lloyd Garrison as an abolitionist, and consider the *Liberator*, edited by him, *so far as it is devoted to the subject of slavery*, an efficient and able paper, and entitled to the patronage of *its friends*." Thanks for nothing,

Lib. 9: 14.

replied the editor: I give twenty columns a week to abolition, and a little corner to peace, besides the usual miscellany.

Meantime, the watchman's outcry had thrown the enemy's camp into confusion. On January 14, 1839, the day before the Fall River meeting, Mr. Garrison wrote to G. W. Benson, at Brooklyn:

MS. Oliver Johnson.

"Your letter to friend Johnson was duly received to-day. The action of the anti-slavery society of Windham County, at

Thompson [Conn.], with regard to the *Liberator*, is timely. The proceedings shall appear in the paper on Friday. It was pleasant to me to see the names of my esteemed friends Coe and Scarborough among the movers. I am sorry to say, that there is no doubt of our having a severe and painful conflict at the annual meeting. Facts are constantly coming to my knowledge, respecting the movements of Torrey & Co., all going to show that the plot is extensive, and that many are involved in it who have hitherto stood well in our ranks. On Saturday evening, John E. Fuller called to see me for the first time on the subject, and we neither of us kept back anything. He is an altered man, and 'all high' for a new paper. (I suppose he is to be the agent for it, to drive subscriptions, etc.) I hardly expected such a defection, but he has lifted his heel against us — though, of course, he does not avow openly hostility, only he goes about saying that the *Liberator* is an injurious publication — that I have lost all interest in the anti-slavery cause, etc., etc. He is trying to influence our colored friends to think well of the new project; but he finds they are true as steel, and therefore angrily tells them that he believes that if Garrison should go to hell, they would go with him.

Lib. 9: 11.

Rev. Wm. Coe; Philip Scarborough.

January 12, 1839.

"I have not seen Phelps since my article, 'Watchman, What of the Night?' appeared. As soon as he read it in the Anti-Slavery Office, Knapp says anger reddened his face, his lips quivered, and he pronounced me to be a wicked man, utterly unfit to be engaged in any moral enterprise, etc. The fact is, I have sounded an alarm, and suddenly sprung a mine, and the plotters are greatly confounded, and of course very indignant. My belief is, that they will manage the affair with so much plausibility, and will have so many able and influential speakers on their side, as to be able to carry their point. If they should fail in doing so, they are determined to start a paper on their own hook — perhaps some of them will secede. If they should triumph, there would be no union in our Society, and of course no strength. You can hardly imagine how artfully it is all managed by the advocates of the new paper. But one thing let me say — we are to have a hard conflict — the crisis is truly momentous — ☞ *you must be here without fail* ☜. No matter about your engagements in Connecticut — not one of them can be so important as to authorize your absence from Boston, I think. . . . If friend Coe, or Scarborough, one or both, or any others, could also come, we shall be glad to see them in the city."

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Those whom the coat fitted were, as we have seen in Phelps's case, quick to put it on. Mr. Garrison had purposely mentioned no names in denouncing the intriguers; but as quickly as the exigencies of the *Liberator* permitted, they unmasked themselves in reclamations which confirmed the truth of his allegations, while showing the extent of their bitterness towards him, and their confidence in soon having him under their feet. They smarted under the term "plot" as they did under the epithet "clerical," which had been rightly conjoined with it. Torrey was the first to appear, in "the full tide of his *priestly* bile," and set the tone of this personal warfare by menacing Mr. Garrison's "brassy brow" with exposure, charging him with "dastardly insinuation" about his (Torrey's) failing zeal in the cause, and with being "one of the most bigoted and unfair sectarians in our land." St. Clair confessed that the Fitchburg resolutions were concocted by himself with Torrey's approval; accused the *Liberator* of preaching a no-government doctrine which incapacitated it from heartily urging abolitionists to do their political duty; pronounced the references to himself "an unprovoked and vile attack on one you professed to regard as a friend," and said, "I shall take the liberty to appeal from your imperial decision." Phelps, who had been the least distinctly implicated, embodied in his rejoinder a recent letter from Torrey, affirming that "the goodness of our project" was evidenced by the first movement of the opposition "to *lie* it down"; then denied having seen the Fitchburg resolutions until after they were passed, but promised to support them at the annual meeting. He claimed a right to work for the cause "without doing it through your paper, and without coming and kneeling devoutly to ask your Holiness whether I may do so or not." Mr. Garrison's charges were natural to "one whose overgrown self-conceit had wrought him into the belief that his mighty self was abolition incarnate." So, in a subsequent communication: "You seem still to be possessed with the old idea that you

Lib. 9: 14.

Lib. 9: 15.

Lib. 9: 31.

and your paper are abolition incarnate, so that no man can dislike or reject either without disliking and rejecting abolition."

There was a familiar echo, in this tenor, of the coarse abusiveness of the Rev. James T. Woodbury on behalf of the Appeal. It was distinctively a clerical *façon de parler*, in which the haughtiness of the cloth was unmistakable. We meet with it constantly in the discussion which raged during the ensuing months. The Rev. John Le Bosquet, writing to the *Herald of Freedom* in protest against the high estimation of Mr. Garrison among abolitionists, calls it "IDOLATRY — the worship of another being than Jehovah"; speaks of him as the "All in All of the affections of the anti-slavery host," though aiming to "overthrow all government, even that of Jehovah," and "make himself the Universal Lord, and make all men slaves to him"; and "either so *elated* with his elevation as to think that he was 'monarch of all he surveyed,' and therefore could successfully combat the armies of heaven and earth, or so *enraged* because he could not connect to his faith all the ministers and churches in the world in a moment, as to be induced to turn his weapons against their religion." In the same spirit, the Rev. Daniel Wise, of Quincy, reported Mr. Garrison to have spoken (at the quarterly meeting) "as if he were whip-master-general and supreme judge of all abolitionists; as though he wore the triple crown, and wielded an irresponsible sceptre over all the embattled hosts of anti-slavery troops." And even the Rev. George Allen, of Shrewsbury, declared Mr. Garrison resolved "to cripple the influence of all who will not come under the yoke which he has bent for their necks."

Ante, p. 142.

Lib. 9: 44.

Lib. 9: 59.

Lib. 9: 67.

The annual meeting was held on January 23, in the Marlboro' Chapel, with Francis Jackson in the chair. "It was the largest anti-slavery gathering ever witnessed in Massachusetts," and the interest in the proceedings was most intense. The dissidents were there in full force, though in a meagre minority, and consumed a dispro-

Lib. 9: 18.

Right and Wrong in Mass., 1839, p. 96.

Lib 9: 19.

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portionate share of the time with their boisterous and unmannerly declamation. "It was apparent to all impartial observers that they were not actuated by any special regard for the cause of the perishing slave, but by the strongest aversion to the *Liberator* and its editor." The reading of Mr. Garrison's annual report — the suppression of which, by a change in the Board of Officers, was as much an object as the discrediting of the *Liberator* — preceded the attack which everybody awaited. Its consideration was, on motion of Wendell Phillips, postponed in order to take up the Phelps-Torrey resolutions which had been referred to the business committee; and then the debate began. These resolutions were substantially the same as those passed at Fitchburg concerning the need of a weekly official organ for political anti-slavery action, from which all extraneous topics should be excluded, and which should be under the control of the Board of Managers. A dishonest proviso held out a chance for the *Liberator* to become this organ, in terms cunningly worded to ensure rejection, and at the same time to censure the editor's unfitness for the post.

Right and Wrong in Mass., 1839, *p.* 97.

St. Clair led off in their favor, followed by Torrey, who claimed for the previous speaker, himself, Phelps and Stanton the honor of originating the scheme of a new paper. Mr. Stanton's disclaimer of any implication in it (that could be proved) was made in the afternoon session, and gave no intimation that he would in the evening express his entire approval of it. Then, however, he asserted that a new paper was indispensable, on account of the political shortcomings of the *Liberator*. Its editor, he contended, had left it to others to prick abolition voters to their duty in his columns, meantime tolerating "discussions calculated to nullify its effect. . . . It is not that other subjects are introduced into the *Liberator* — it is that *such* other subjects are introduced — subjects so injurious to the cause." He would not injure the *Liberator* or Mr. Garrison. "On the subject of peace, per-

Ibid., *p.* 98.

Ibid., *p.* 100

haps, he is nearer right than I am. But he has lowered the standard of abolition." "Mr. Garrison and Mr. Stanton," says Mrs. Chapman (to whom we owe so many reports of the meetings of those days), "had met continually during the season previous to this attack. They had met as aforetime, brotherly, and Mr. Stanton had never, even by a word, prepared his friend for such a proceeding." *Right and Wrong in Mass.*, 1839, p. 101; *Lib.* 9:29.

To this silence Mr. Garrison adverted with feeling on rising to reply. He appealed to his colored brethren present against the charge of recreancy, and challenged their confidence still,—which was accorded him on the spot, with exclamations and with "a cheer that spoke more eloquently and sincerely than the tongue of man ever did." "'Let me ask him a question,' said Mr. Stanton. 'Mr. Garrison! do you or do you not believe it a sin to go to the polls?'" "Mr. Garrison promptly answered it, so as not to deny his principles, nor yet to take up the gage of the non-resistance conflict which Mr. Stanton had thrown down: —'Sin for *me!*' 'I ask you again,' persisted the infatuated questioner, 'do you or do you not believe it a sin to go to the polls?' 'Sin for *me*' —was the same imperturbable reply." In vain was the net spread. Its true nature was fully revealed in a resolution on ecclesiastical and political duty, penned by Mr. Stanton and submitted to the business committee, which read: "and that every member of an anti-slavery society who refuses, *under any pretext*, thus to act, morally or politically, *or counsels others to such a course*, is guilty of gross inconsistency, and widely departs from the original and fundamental principles of the anti-slavery enterprise." The meeting scarcely needed the speeches of Wendell Phillips and Ellis Gray Loring to put its seal of condemnation on the four conspirators, whose every shift was baffled, until, by an almost unanimous vote, the resolutions were indefinitely postponed. From this decision Phelps and St. Clair sought to exclude the female members, but Francis Jackson promptly ruled *Lib.* 9:29. *Right and Wrong in Mass.*, 1839, p. 102. *Ibid.*, p. 104. *Ibid.*, p. 104. *Lib.* 9:39. *Right and Wrong in Mass.*, 1839, p. 108.

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"that it is in order for women to vote," and no appeal was heard.

Lib. 9:14, 18, 19, 25.

Before the political issue could be taken up, the Society adjourned informally, on the morning of January 24, to Faneuil Hall, which had been granted by the city authorities for a meeting of citizens in favor of abolition in the District of Columbia. By this unprecedented concession all minds were at once turned to the Union-saving meeting of August, 1835, and its consequences.

Lib. 9:25.

There was a fresh pointing to the portraits on the wall —by Seth Sprague, the father of Peleg, to Washington, "that abolitionist"; by Wendell Phillips, to the newly-placed portrait of John Quincy Adams, the defender of the right of petition.[1] Edmund Quincy referred to the Otis-Sprague desecration of the hall, and to the Garrison mob, "which, if not led, was at least not discouraged, by the municipal authorities." Mr. Garrison was received with loud and prolonged cheering, and delivered his first speech in the Cradle of Liberty. He recalled his pre-

Ante, 1:514.

diction to Otis that such a meeting as this would yet be held within its walls; and, in reference to Mr. Quincy's

Lib. 9:25.

allusion to the mob, said: "I feel in very good humor to-day with Boston. She has this day declared that she was wrong, and that I was right; and as she has thus made the *amende honorable*, I am quite disposed to forgive and forget what is past."

From this episode we must hasten to the renewal of warfare in the annual meeting, in the afternoon session

January 25, 1839.

in Marlboro' Chapel, and again the next morning, when St. Clair introduced a resolution affirming it to be the

Right and Wrong in Mass., 1839, *p.* 109.

"imperious duty of every abolitionist who could conscientiously do so, to go to the polls"—phraseology now

[1] The following passage from Mr. Phillips's speech should not be overlooked: "If lawful and peaceful efforts for the abolition of slavery in our land will dissolve it, let the Union go. Love it as we may, and cherish it as we do, equally with the loudest of our opposers, we say, Perish the Union when its cement must be the blood of the slave!—when the rights of one must be secured at the expense of the other! We will not accept of the blessings of the Union if we must abandon the slave" (*Lib.* 9:25).

Wendell Phillips

to be weighed, not by its form, but by its source and the motive of its originators. After a warm debate, a substitute prepared and offered by Mr. Garrison was adopted with trifling opposition. "Resolved," it read, "that those abolitionists who feel themselves called upon, by a sense of duty, to go to the polls, and yet purposely absent themselves from the polls whenever an opportunity is presented to vote for a friend of the slave — or who, when there, follow their party predilections to the abandonment of their abolition principles — are recreant to their high professions, and unworthy of the name they bear." Mr. Garrison's report was then overwhelmingly adopted (by 180 yeas to 24 nays), in spite of Torrey's efforts to strike out the chapter on the woman question and concerning his protest at the last New England Convention; and of Orange Scott's, to strike out the elaborate criticism of Gerrit Smith's plan for the political conversion of the existing anti-slavery organizations. On the latter topic, Mr. Garrison was accepted as the mouthpiece both of the Society and of the Board when he wrote:

Lib. 10:51.

Lib. 9:18.

Ante, p. 220.

Lib. 9:18.

"If specifications are essential in our constitutions respecting the manner in which abolitionists shall act as members of the STATE, they are not less essential in relation to the manner in which they shall act as members of the CHURCH. We shall need, therefore, a clause to this effect,— that members who are connected with any church, do pledge themselves that they will not hear any pro-slavery minister preach; nor sit at the communion-table with those who proscribe their colored brother; nor occupy a seat in any meeting-house in which a man is forced into an obscure corner on account of his complexion; nor be connected with a church which fellowships slaveholders, etc., etc. How apparent it is, that if we once begin in this manner to make specifications, we shall not know when to end! A huge volume would not suffice to contain them. This is to make a measure, instead of a principle, the basis of our organization. And is it not as essential that the CHURCH should be purified as that the STATE should be reformed? . . . *Lib.* 9:18.

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"The Board deny that it is competent for any anti-slavery society, by its votes or through its organ, to arraign either the political or religious views of its members. It may with no more propriety decide that one man is morally bound to cast a vote at the polls, than that another man is morally bound to unite himself to the church. On this subject there are many conflicting but honest opinions entertained by abolitionists. All that a society or its organ may rightfully do, is to entreat its members to abide by their principles, *whether in the church or out of it, at the polls or elsewhere;* to vote for no man who is not in favor of immediate emancipation: to listen to no preacher who apologizes for slavery."

The discomfiture of the clerical schismatics by such reasoning was not less complete than that which they received from the voting at the annual meeting. They proceeded to give effect to their openly avowed intention to issue a new weekly paper, to be called the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*, and to be edited either by Elizur Wright or by John G. Whittier. In the meantime, Mr. Stanton would have the charge of it.

Right and Wrong in Mass., 1839, *p.* 98.

Both Whittier and Stanton had dispatched reports of the meeting — the one to his paper, the *Pennsylvania Freeman;* the other, to William Goodell. Whittier made light of the difference in Massachusetts, saying that it gave no cause for triumph to the enemies of the cause; and, later, that he — unlike his "friend of twelve years' standing" — was above the fear of treachery and conspiracy. To this Mr. Garrison retorted, that the founding of a new paper showed that the difference was anything but light. Abolitionists "do not mean to assert, as a self-evident or universal truth, that no man can be a sound and consistent abolitionist who is not a church member, or who does not exercise his elective franchise. No indeed! This doctrine is of recent origin; and, all protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, we are certain that the grand design of those who have promulgated it is *to supplant the Liberator*, and to establish a paper upon its ruins that will be less

Lib. 9:31.

Lib. 9:39.

offensive to the clergy, and less free in its spirit, and that will not dare to utter a word upon any other question of reform—*unless it be popular!*" CHAP. V. 1839.

Stanton's letter to Goodell received a reply dated February 5, 1839, which long did duty in the shape of quotations by Torrey and Phelps at their meetings before it saw the light in the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*. While censuring the tone of Mr. Garrison's opponents, Goodell was in sympathy with the new-fangled doctrine of political action, regarding "the *no-government* (miscalled non-resistant) principle as at war with that essential feature of primitive (1833) abolitionism." He relied upon Stanton to fight the battle of political action, not as an excitant or expedient, but as a "sober, settled, moral and religious principle," and "upon high Bible ground." He referred to Mr. Garrison's friends as "those who are intoxicated with one man's infallibility," and that man a "Napoleon" disastrous to the cause. Rogers, by his "fatal incense," had "bewildered our noble brother Garrison," who was now manifestly inspired of the devil to interpose barriers and limitations to the cause.[1] *Lib.* 9: 148. *N. P. Rogers.*

Immediately after the adjournment of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society on January 25, 1839, the friends of the *Liberator* in large numbers held an evening meeting at the Marlboro' Chapel, which Edmund Quincy called to order, and of which Francis Jackson was made the presiding officer, and John A. Collins, secretary. Collins was a theological student at the Andover Seminary, who *Lib.* 9: 19.

[1] At the New England A. S. Convention in 1837, writes Mrs. Chapman in 'Right and Wrong in Massachusetts' (for 1839), p. 24, "The Rev. George Trask introduced a resolution on the subject of peace, as connected with abolition, which was sustained by William Goodell and others. Mr. Goodell said that he was a peace man, and had he not supposed the American A. S. Society to be also a peace society, he never should have joined it. A discussion ensued respecting the Declaration of Sentiments and Constitution of the Society. Some thought the Peace principles were involved in them, some not, according to their different ideas of the extent of these principles. The discussion had continued two hours when Mr. Garrison arose. 'Brethren,' he said, 'you all know my views on this subject. They cover the extreme ground of non-resistance, and so, in my understanding

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had been instrumental in revealing the clerical plot, and who, as General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, was presently to play a rôle of the greatest importance. The utmost harmony and good feeling prevailed at this gathering, fresh from the triumph of the battlefield; new subscriptions were made, and donations and pledges offered, to a significant amount, and resolutions of hearty support adopted. These quoted the magnanimous words of Gerrit Smith, in a recent letter enclosing fifty dollars to Mr. Garrison: "Among the many things in which the abolitionists of our country should be agreed, are the two following: 1st, The *Liberator* must be sustained. 2d, Its Editor must be kept above want; — not only, nor mainly, for his own and his family's happiness; but that, having his own mind unembarrassed by the cares of griping poverty, he may be a more effective advocate of the cause of the Saviour's enslaved poor." "With an instinctive sagacity," continued the resolutions, "which has anticipated every danger and defeated every plot, whether of open enemies or hollow friends, it [the *Liberator*] has been the first to summon, with trumpet tones, the friends of humanity to the rescue." Further:

Lib. 9:15.

Lib. 9:19.

"3. Resolved, That, so far from looking upon the expression of the peculiar views of its editor on other topics as a fault, or esteeming it a hindrance to the progress of the abolition cause, we value the *Liberator* for its fearless toleration and free discussion of all truth; and though we do not hold ourselves

of it, does this resolution. Let me say to Brother Goodell that I think he, on further thought, would not wish to adopt it, neither do I think the assembly ready to pass it. This is neither the place nor the occasion. Let us stop discussing it now.' The resolution was moulded into the shape of a re-affirmation of pacific principles, as set forth in the Declaration of Sentiments of the National Convention in 1833, and in that modified form unanimously adopted. . . . Who could have foretold that these very persons [non-resistant abolitionists], and Mr. Garrison in particular, were hereafter to be arraigned as loading the cause with foreign topics?" (*Lib.* 9 : 141.) "We foresaw," said Mr. Garrison (*Lib.* 9 : 143), of the Trask-Goodell resolution, "that if it were adopted, it would probably ensnare the consciences of many, and lead to an unpleasant collision."

responsible for any sentiments uttered in its columns, we abhor that sectarian bigotry which would proscribe their free utterance, and clog its editor with the shackles of any party or sect.

"4. Resolved, That while there exists among abolitionists such irreconcilable difference of opinion, both as to fundamental principles and on questions of party politics, so far from deeming the course of the *Liberator* faulty in respect to political action, *we look upon the ground it has occupied as the only one upon which any anti-slavery periodical can stand*—the urging, upon every individual, action consistent with his principles and his conscience."

These resolutions, together with kindred testimonials in years past by George Thompson, William Goodell, Amasa Walker, Maria W. Chapman, N. P. Rogers, and others, were afterwards embodied in a circular by the financial committee of the *Liberator*.

On February 13, the New York Executive Committee notified the Massachusetts Board that the contract hitherto existing between it and the Parent Society, as to the collection of funds in its proper territory, was at an end, and that independent agents for Massachusetts had been appointed. This action was a great surprise, since the Board had made, through Joshua Leavitt and through H. B. Stanton (who had, before the annual meeting, been sent on as a delegate in regard to the pledge), a request that the Executive Committee would send agents into the State to raise the amount of the pledge due on February 1, on the simple condition that the sums be remitted through the Massachusetts treasurer; and had already offered to pay Stanton's salary and travelling expenses in this service of the Parent Society. They immediately deputed Wendell Phillips and Henry G. Chapman to visit New York and remonstrate on their behalf with the Executive Committee, who, however, remained stubborn, having already, in fact, printed a circular representing the unprofitable and unfair working of the contract. In vain were explanations given of

Lib. 9:35.

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the causes of being in arrear.[1] In vain it was urged that the plan did not contemplate a nullification for want of punctuality in the redemption of pledges, as if a mercantile contract were in question; that the pledge could and would yet be redeemed under the standing arrangement, if a collision were not precipitated; and that, if it was true, as the Committee alleged, that abolitionists were much more likely to give to the National than to the State societies, there could be very little excuse for the existence of the latter organizations, and the Committee had better assume a monopoly of the direction of the anti-slavery cause. On this last issue the Board took their stand, and issued an address to their constituents, at the same time urging the fulfilment of the pledge.

Lib. 9:35.

Mr. Garrison described the situation at this date in a letter to his sister-in-law, Mary Benson, dated Boston, (February 10 and) March 3, 1839:

MS.

"Doubtless, you wish to be informed as to the complexion of things in Boston. I can only say, that, so far as the anti-slavery cause is concerned, we are (O sorrowful fact!) a divided house. That sweet fellowship which formerly prevailed in our ranks is gone, and, I fear, irrecoverably. Phelps has been confined to the house, till within a week, since the annual meeting; but, though ill, he has been very busy with his pen against the *Liberator* and in support of the new paper.[2] How

[1] The Board contended that the attitude of the Executive Committee towards the Clerical Appeal had kept many from contributing to its treasury from want of confidence (in accordance with Mr. Garrison's prediction in 1837, *ante*, p. 167), and on the other hand had made some withhold their usual gifts to the State Society. Another disturbing influence had been the prolonged contested election in the Fourth Mass. District, which had absorbed a great deal of attention and money.

[2] The first number of the *Massachusetts Abolitionist* appeared on Feb. 7, 1839—a small sheet, neatly printed, and exhibiting, said Mr. Garrison (*Lib.* 9:27), both tact and talent in its selected and original articles. It made no statement of the reasons for founding it, but professed to be "devoted exclusively to the discussion of slavery." Its editorial conduct devolved upon a committee of twenty-seven, one-third of whom were clergymen (*Lib.* 9:31), till Elizur Wright was free in May to assume it. Its mottoes—"Supremacy of the laws," "Liberty, the right of all—law its defence"—were an evident thrust at "no-government" doctrines, but

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he feels toward me, the articles from his pen in the *Liberator* painfully manifest. As for Stanton, he appears to be completely alienated. We merely interchange civilities as we meet. Jealousy, envy, and ambition, I fear, have taken possession of his breast. He told friend Knapp, the other day, that if I had declared at the annual meeting that there was no God, by merely lifting my finger I could have carried multitudes with me! What a state of heart does this evince! How false, how foolish, how cruel, is such an assertion! St. Clair and Wise have resigned their agencies, and are laboring with great zeal in behalf of the *Abolitionist*.[1] I suppose they will be appointed agents of the American A. S. Society.

Lib. 9:34, 35.

"You will see by the last *Liberator* that a collision has taken place between the New York Executive Committee and our Board. How it will terminate, I know not. This is a sad spectacle to present to the enemies of our holy cause; but be the responsibility upon the heads of those who are attempting to lord it over the consciences of non-resisting abolitionists. Our friends abroad, who, not being on the ground, are ignorant of what is said and done here in private, naturally feel distressed to see brethren fall out by the way; and, truly, I am filled with as much grief as any of them. They seem to think that I am opposed to the new paper partly on selfish grounds (some of them, I mean)—as if my whole life does not prove that I have trodden under foot, with holy scorn, all considerations of self-interest! They also suppose that the originators of the new-paper movement are very friendly to the *Liberator*, and would do nothing, designedly, to injure its circulation. How great is their error! I cannot be mistaken. I know

Lib. 9:35, *Mar.* 1, 1839.

had an unwonted sound to the champions of the "higher law" (*Lib.* 9:31). The subscription price was $1.00; that of the *Liberator*, $2.50.

[1] It was high time for St. Clair to change sides. He had been endeavoring to win over the colored people of Fall River by false representations as to the declining circulation of the *Liberator*, and as to Mr. Garrison's own desire for a new paper—based, of course, on the latter's proposal of a monthly organ to head off the *Abolitionist* (*Lib.* 9:22, and *ante*, p. 262). Wise's coat-turning was ludicrously sudden, after having "resolved," through the Norfolk County A. S. Society, that the *Liberator* had *not* departed from its old principles (*Lib.* 9:34). He was now recommending the *Abolitionist* because, as he said, in his dainty way, he preferred having the hairs served up in one plate, the butter in another. These worthies were assisted by the Rev. J. T. Woodbury, who charged Mr. Garrison, among other dreadful things, with being a "Thomsonian"—"a very good reason," thought the latter, "why a new anti-slavery paper should be started in this commonwealth" (*Lib.* 9:27).

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what is the spirit that is at work, and that, under the plausible guise of friendship for the abolition cause, the design is, if possible, to subvert the *Liberator*, and drive me from the ranks. The Lord will make all things manifest in due time.

Mrs. Garrison. *Rev. Nathaniel Colver.*

"Lucinda Otis called to see Helen yesterday — the first time since you left; said she had been very busy respecting the new Free Church, and had concluded to attend Colver's meeting. (By the way, he is coarse in his language, and bitter in his feelings, against non-resistance, and says he is ready to shoulder a musket any day: he hates the pacific character of the Son of God most cordially, and sneers like an infidel at the doctrine of holiness.) . . .

"Mrs. Chapman is writing a letter to Henry Clay, in reply to his speech,[1] for publication. It will be keen and powerful, I doubt not.

Mar. 5. 1839.

"Oliver Johnson is expected home from Vermont on Tuesday. If I can arrange matters with him, I shall go to Providence soon, and also to other places, for the purpose of lecturing, etc. . . ."

The division of the anti-slavery household was real, but it was not yet complete. Confusion, rather than

[1] This speech, delivered in the U. S. Senate on Feb. 7, 1839, apropos of the petitions for abolition in the District, was Clay's bid for the Presidency, and as such was the most notable political event of the year. It destroyed the last shred of his anti-slavery reputation at the North, except among the Friends, whom he was cunning enough to flatter, and it also cost him his nomination by the Whig party in December (*Lib.* 10:31). It was a medley of the stale charges against the abolitionists — of unconstitutional aims and measures, of endangering an immense invested capital (1200 million dollars, as he estimated), of having retarded emancipation by half a century, etc., etc. He taxed them, further, with now having abandoned moral suasion for the ballot-box, with the bayonet as their next resource, and held up the old bogey of disunion and civil war. Against such a consummation he invoked the interposition of the clergy, drawing out a reply from Channing characterized by his usual blowing hot and cold (*Lib.* 9:57, 61). Mr. Garrison said of it: "It 'separates the subject from personalities' — *i. e.*, it shoots at nothing, and hits it. 'To me,' says Dr. Channing, 'the slaveholder is very much an *abstraction*.' No doubt of it: the Dr. is safe from the thumb-screw, the cart-whip, and the branding-iron. . . . To the slave, 'the slaveholder is very much' a *reality* — a dreadful reality" (*Lib.* 9:59). Clay's speech was printed in full in the *Liberator* (9:26). One sentence of it was destined to be reproduced many times against the author. To the moralist who objected that man could not hold property in man, Clay asserted — "That *is* property which the law declares *to be* property." This aphorism might fitly have found a place among the legal mottoes of the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*.

division, is the term to apply to that transition state in which the discordant elements were seeking grounds of affinity one with another. The peremptoriness of the New York Executive Committee's money dealings with the Massachusetts Board did not involve any censure of the *Liberator* as an anti-slavery organ, or any taking of sides on the newly raised political issue. The sectarian purposes of the Torrey group had no necessary relation to the pecuniary affairs of the Parent and State societies. Nevertheless, by instinct, the Committee tolerated its agent, Stanton, in fostering a new organization in Massachusetts and editing its mouthpiece; and Phelps rushed to the defence of the Committee's view of the pledge contract, though none knew better than he, as the late General Agent, how faithful had been the endeavor to collect the money. Again, neither the *Abolitionist* nor the *Emancipator* would print the address of the Massachusetts Board on this subject. On the other hand, the conspirators did not withdraw from the State or local societies so long as there was any hope of capturing and converting them: to build anew was their final resort. No greater proof of the forbearance of the majority could be given than that they did not expel or suppress the open and avowed enemies of the existing organizations — that they gave them the freest hearings at their meetings, and did not, to the last, deny them places on their committees. This curious spectacle of "no-government" patience and clerical effrontery was to be witnessed throughout the year 1839.

Lib. 9:35, 43.

The local issue having been decided at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Society, the conflict with the Executive Committee remained to be met, and the call of the Board for the Quarterly Meeting on March 26, 1839, printed in the *Liberator* of March 15, made this topic the principal motive for assembling, and urged the fullest possible representation of the State. The following letter bears date of March 19, 1839:

Lib. 9:43.

W. L. Garrison to G. W. Benson, at Brooklyn.

MS. Boston. I am somewhat apprehensive that this hasty scrawl will not meet your eye as promptly as I could wish; for the time is close at hand for holding our State quarterly meeting, which is to decide whether our sacred enterprise shall continue under the management of its old and tried friends, or be given up to the control of politicians and sectarists. I hope you are at home, so that you may know promptly that it is the earnest wish of myself, and others around me, that you would be present with us in this last and most important crisis. You think of coming to Boston in April. Now, just alter your arrangements so as to be with us next Tuesday. Don't fail, for ordinary reasons, I pray you. As goes Massachusetts, so go the free States. By one united, vigorous effort, at this time, I am persuaded we shall succeed in utterly discomfiting all insidious plotters — but the least holding back, on our part, will prove fatal.

March 26, 1839.

I want to see you particularly in regard to the expediency of publishing the *Cradle of Liberty*, which you saw noticed as forthcoming in the last *Liberator*.[1] We shall issue a specimen number in season for the quarterly meeting next week, and then determine at once as to the course it may be proper to pursue. I have some misgivings on the subject. It may look like a mere personal contest for patronage, though not so intended by myself. Again — I am fearful that for us to afford a weekly paper, of the size of the *Abolitionist*, for 50 cents a year, containing the cream of the anti-slavery matter in the *Liberator*, will injure the subscription of our paper. Our

Lib. 9:43.

[1] The issue of this sheet was announced to be weekly at 75 cents per annum, or in large quantities at 50 cents, the contents being principally selections from the anti-slavery department of the *Liberator*, under Mr. Garrison's editorial supervision. The first number bore date of Saturday, March 23, 1839. A cut of Faneuil Hall made a pictorial heading. The motto was from John Adams: "Great is Truth — Great is Liberty — Great is Humanity; and They must and will Prevail." The salutatory spoke of this journal as an experiment for the benefit of those who were too poor to take the *Liberator*, or who craved a paper exclusively devoted to the subject of slavery; not as intended to be a substitute for the *Liberator*, or to interfere with it in the slightest degree. Its main object was to "assist in preserving the integrity of the abolition enterprise in this commonwealth." The second number bore date of April 6, after which the *Cradle of Liberty* appeared weekly, closing its first volume on March 21, 1840, and being finally discontinued with Vol. 2, No. 17, July 18, 1840; the *Monthly Offering* taking the place of it, with a difference. The size of its printed page was about 11 by 15 1-2 inches.

friends, however, seem generally to approve of the project. If I could know your mind, I should be more decided in my own. It is thought that the issuing of this little sheet will most effectually hedge up the way of the *Abolitionist*, and thus defeat whatever scheme the getters up of that paper may have in view. CHAP. V. 1839.

We may have a tolerably quiet, and again a very stormy meeting on Tuesday next. I believe the Board of Managers will be sustained in the course they have pursued, by a majority of the delegates. If they should not, they will resign, as a matter of course, and the State Society will pass into other hands. *March* 26, 1839.

Phelps has written a long reply to the Address of the Board, respecting the doings of the N. Y. Executive Committee, which he is about issuing in a handbill. I did not feel obligated to give it a place in the columns of the *Liberator*, and declined doing so.[1] *Ante*, p. 280.

Stanton has left the State — whether to return again, I know not; but probably he will be here at the quarterly meeting. The transformation in his feelings towards the *Liberator* and myself is complete. Since the annual meeting, though a large portion of the time in this city, he has had nothing to say to me. His conduct throughout has been very reprehensible, and greatly has he injured himself in the eyes of the best friends of our cause. His political hobby has well-nigh ruined him, and put an end to all harmonious action in Massachusetts. My soul is filled with grief on his account. Dearly have I loved him in time past, and great have been my expectations in regard to his future career. But I fear he has made up his mind to be "a man of one idea" — for he seems to be determined to look only in one direction, and with a short-sighted vision.

There is some doubt whether Mr. Phelps will be installed at the Marlboro' Chapel,[2] on account of his hostility to the doctrine of personal and perfect righteousness. Pres. Mahan's

[1] In *Lib.* 9:43. In the first place, the question was not with Phelps but with the Executive Committee, whose reply was assured of insertion when forthcoming. In the next place, Phelps had now his own organ, which had not set an example of fairness by publishing the Address of the Board.

[2] As pastor of the Free Church, namely. He was ultimately installed (*Lib.* 9:123), with the assistance of the Rev. Hubbard Winslow, who, though one of the most odious pro-slavery apologists among the Northern clergy (*ante*, 1:478; 2:63), was yet a "no-government" doctrinaire — for, from his (Thanksgiving) pulpit, he condemned Lovejoy's self-defence against the mob (*Lib.* 7:201).

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preaching has sunk deeply into the hearts of many members of the Free Church, and you are aware, perhaps, that he advocates "perfectionism" as alone constituting Christianity. He has just published a book on this subject, which I like as far as I have read it, and which will, in due time, cause some sensation among holy sinners and evangelical rebels.[1]

About 1500 subscribers are all, I understand, that have been obtained as yet, for the *Abolitionist*, notwithstanding the deep hostility that is cherished toward the *Liberator*, and notwithstanding all the efforts of St. Clair, Phelps, Stanton, Wise, Torrey, backed up by the orthodox clergy. Not less than 5000 subscribers will be necessary to defray its expenses. These, perhaps, may be obtained, in time.

I have just received another letter from Boyle, equal if not superior to his first, and about twice as long.[2] It will make a sensation when it is published. I shall publish it entire in the *Non-Resistant*, and nearly all of it in the *Liberator*.[3] It is the

[1] 'Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection; with other kindred subjects, illustrated and confirmed in a series of Discourses, designed to throw light on the way of holiness. By Rev. Asa Mahan, President of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute' (*Lib.* 9:48). In December, 1839, an anonymous contributor to the *Liberator* is permitted to print a dialogue intended to overcome in detail the "prejudice and misrepresentation" of which the editor was the object. We read: "But some say he is a Perfectionist, and believe that, let him do what he will, it is no sin.—That is false. His views on the subject of holiness are in unison with those of Mr. Mahan, whom you have heard and liked" (*Lib.* 9:207).

[2] The Rev. James Boyle—a native of Lower Canada, born and bred a Catholic; afterwards, turned Protestant, a prominent revivalist preacher in Vermont, and in 1834 temporarily supplying the Free Church at Hartford, Conn. (being succeeded by Charles Fitch); finally, a New Haven Perfectionist in intimate relations with J. H. Noyes—addressed a letter to Mr. Garrison touching the Clerical Appeal, Sectarianism, and True Holiness, from Rome, Ohio, which was printed in the *Liberator* for March 23, 1838 (8:45). It was a very intense and able production—"one of the most powerful epistles ever written by man," it seemed to the recipient (*Lib.* 8:47), who published it again in pamphlet form, with a preface and his poem "Christian Rest"—and well calculated to inflame the hostility of the clergy to Mr. Garrison. For example: The American slaveholder "has thrown around him a rampart of spongy priests who, like bales of cotton, extract the momentum from the balls that are levelled at his callous heart." "I look upon abolition as the greatest moral school, instituted of God, now existing"—the John the Baptist of Christ's advent.

[3] In the *Liberator*, 9:52, in the *Non-Resistant* of April 6, 1839; in both, under the caption, "On Non-Resistance,—The 'Powers that be,' Civil, Judicial and Ecclesiastical,—Holiness." It was dated Cincinnati, Ohio, Feb. 24, 1839.

intention of friend Knapp to print it also, in pamphlet form. Boyle ought to be here in New England, editing a paper that shall cause every sect in Christendom (or, rather, in Babylon) to tremble. Can we not provide a way for his coming?[1] I have also received a very beautiful letter from his wife,[2] written in the same spirit. CHAP. V. 1839.

The election in the Fourth District takes place on the first Monday of April. The Whigs have again nominated Nathan Brooks; so that it is more than probable — almost certain — that Parmenter will succeed,[3] to the great injury of our cause. Bro. Stanton was premature in stirring up the political waters in that District. *Apr.* 1, 1839. *William Parmenter.*

Give my brotherly regards to my friend Coe, who has complimented me by giving a part of my odious name to his youngest-born. I was very glad to receive his manly letter on non-resistance. It is my earnest desire that he may clearly apprehend and cordially embrace the divinely originated principles of our Society. I am quite sure that he will be with us. . . . *Rev. Wm. Coe.*

When, pursuant to the call, on Tuesday, March 26, 1839, the Massachusetts Society met at Marlboro' Chapel, Stanton was on hand, and with him were Birney and Lewis Tappan, representing the New York Executive Committee. They were joyfully greeted by the leading schismatics, also present — not with the vain hope of reversing the judgment pronounced at the recent annual meeting, but in order to prevent reconciliation with the Parent Society, and so pave the way for their own ultimate recognition as "regular." Torrey was allowed to *Lib.* 9:51.

[1] This was in singular anticipation of a letter from Gamaliel Bailey, jr., written to Mr. Garrison on April 15, 1839, concerning Boyle, who was just leaving the employ of the *Philanthropist*. Bailey paid a very high tribute to his coadjutor, and asked if any situation could be found for him at the East, suggesting his fitness to become the salaried editor of the *Non-Resistant* (MS.) In July, 1839, Boyle was appointed lecturing and financial agent of the Ohio A. S. Society; at which time Oliver Johnson said of him in the *Liberator* (9:122), that probably there was no man living whose religious views were more in harmony with Mr. Garrison's.

[2] Laura P. Boyle. Her letter was printed in *Lib.* 9:56. In it, she states that she at first hesitated to join the Non-Resistance Society, being emancipated from sects, parties, and organizations generally.

[3] This prognostication was verified (*Lib.* 9:55). The scattering (A. S.) vote showed a falling-off.

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be one of the temporary secretaries. Phelps and Tappan were placed on the business committee. When the tug of war came, over a simple resolution of approval of the Board's attitude in the pending money controversy, both sides were fully heard, and again the Board was sustained, by a crushing vote of 142 to 23. Wendell Phillips then offered, on behalf of the Society, to resume harmonious coöperation with the Executive Committee under the arrangement of June, 1838, but withdrew the resolution in consequence of the contemptuous manner in which it was received by Stanton and the New York delegation. Their part was made up — to ignore the State Society, and to work henceforth with its opponents, in face of the clearest evidence that, if money-getting was their real object, they were closing the purses of the great bulk of the abolitionists of Massachusetts. Lewis Tappan openly advised a division of the State Society into two parts, and said he should promote it if he were a citizen resident. J. G. Birney, speaking of the *Abolitionist*, said for the Executive Committee that "*We* felt the need of this new paper in Massachusetts," and declared that under the Constitution of the American Society every member, who was a legal voter, was morally bound to go to the polls, and, if he had conscientious scruples against so doing, ought to leave the Society. So the meeting broke up, with the issue plainly drawn; the Massachusetts Society, nevertheless, pledging itself anew to redeem its obligations by May 1.

Right and Wrong in Mass., 1839, *p.* 136.

Lib. 9:51; *Right and Wrong in Mass.*, 1839, *p.* 136.

Right and Wrong in Mass., 1839, *p.* 134.

None of the New York brethren was quite satisfied with the *Liberator's* record of his part in the proceedings. Stanton recalled against the editor his language at the time of Abbott Lawrence's catechism in 1834, and especially when, rebuking the colored people for having voted for that candidate, he said: "I know it is the belief of many professedly good men that they ought not to meddle with politics; but they are cherishing a delusion which, if it do not prove fatal to their own souls,

Lib. 9:54.

Ante, 1:455.

Lib. 4:203.

may prove the destruction of their country." Mr. Garrison confessed to have attained a clearer light in the meantime. Lewis Tappan explained his own and his colleague's refusal to entertain Mr. Phillips's proposition by reference to the insufficiency of the guarantee — a Wall-Street view of debt collecting, replied Mr. Garrison. Orange Scott complained that Birney's political argument had been misreported, availing himself of the opportunity to insinuate that Mr. Garrison, as a Perfectionist, believed in spiritual wives.[1] Birney, speaking for himself, affirmed that any one owning Mr. Garrison's scruples ought not to join the Society. He would, indeed, cast out no one, but thought it unworthy in a new sect springing up in the Society, to bend the Constitution to suit their peculiar tenets. The cause, concluded the president of the newly formed Evangelical Anti-Slavery Society of the City of New York (to which only orthodox church-members were eligible), must be relieved of all the extraneous questions which had been connected with it during the past year or two.

Lib. 9:58. *Lib.* 9:59. *Lib.* 9:54. *Lib.* 9:54. *Lib.* 9:23.

What are they? asked Mr. Garrison, and proceeded to

Lib. 9:55.

[1] This clerical slander was most industriously propagated in public and in private during the next few years *(e. g.*, in New Hampshire, in the winter of 1841, as related in Parker Pillsbury's 'Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles,' p. 243). Abner Sanger writes on Mar. 4, 1840, from Danvers, Mass., to Mr. Garrison, of the Rev. Daniel Wise's recent meeting in that place: "After the thirteen females had retired, Mr. Wise stated the evil tendencies of the non-resistance doctrines. He said that a man in Putney, Vt. [J. H. Noyes], had written something which you had commented upon with approbation, some time since. Lately, the same person, (he had forgotten his name), had written something in a newspaper carrying out the non-resistance doctrines to the alarming consequences intimated by him. The idea was a promiscuous cohabitation of the sexes, which he stated, as near as he could recollect, thus: that one man had no more exclusive right to one woman than, when a number sat together at their dinner, consisting of different dishes, one man had an exclusive right to the whole of one dish. He had had the article, but lent it to a person to copy, and it was not now in his possession. So, because you had commented favorably [on] one article, it followed that you endorsed what he published afterwards" (MS.) Still, though this sort of logic was obviously at fault, Mr. Garrison's less intimate friends naturally felt disquieted, and desired a personal explanation from his own lips. See his indignant assertion of his regard for the institution of marriage in *Lib.* 11:43, 191.

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clarify the atmosphere by a brief exposition of the anti-slavery organization, from which he and many other founders of it were now sought to be extruded, as being non-voters, and *ipso facto* disqualified to belong to it. "To sustain an assumption so monstrous, great reliance is placed upon certain expressions contained in the Declaration of Sentiments, the Constitutions of the Parent and State Societies, and the *Liberator*. How it has happened that this discovery was never made until quite recently, it is not for the uninitiated to know. The principles of non-resistance have been advocated for years in the *Liberator;* and these are now declared to be hostile to the abolition of slavery." The following considerations, therefore, are in order:

Lib. 9:55.

"1. Abolition is not 'the fulfilling of the law'—it is not Christianity, in its comprehensive signification, but only an adjunct of it. It may exist where there is no spiritual life, finding nourishment in the soil of human sympathy and natural humanity. Hence, it sits in judgment upon nothing but the guilt of the nation in reducing one-sixth portion of the people to brutal servitude. It arraigns no man for his religious creed or governmental opinions. It takes no cognizance of any dispute respecting the holiness of one day in seven, or the divine authority of the priesthood, or the validity of any religious rites and ordinances. It is not a theological controversy, nor a political crusade. In its official, organized form, it appeals to all sects and parties for support, while it expresses no opinion as to their distinctive character, or their lawful existence. It takes men in masses just as it finds them:— talks of cleansing every church in the land from the abominations of slavery, just as earnestly as if it approved of every such organization, though it has no authority to determine which is orthodox or which heterodox:—discourses largely upon the duty and necessity of reforming the Government, so that there may be an abrogation of all laws upholding slavery—just as freely as though there was a perfect agreement among its members as to the rightful supremacy of government.

"In this aspect, it is not inconsistent, but tolerant; it recognizes only the fact, that slavery is protected both by Church

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and State, and therefore must, in the order of events, be overthrown by influencing Church and State to cease from their oppression. In order that the Church may be purified, it does not require abolitionists to be united with any such organization; for such a requisition it has no right to exact. In order that the State may be reformed, it addresses itself only to those who feel that they are bound to participate in State affairs; for it may not coerce or violate the conscience of any man who, from religious scruples, refuses to connect himself with the Church, or to mingle in the political strifes of the State. It simply condemns men out of their own mouths — measures them by their own acknowledged standard of action — sentences them according to their own confessions of guilt. 'For though it be free from all men, yet it is made servant unto all, that it may gain the more. And unto the Jew, it becomes as a Jew; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that it may gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law ['no-human-government men!'], as without law, (being ☞ *not without law to God*, but UNDER THE LAW TO CHRIST), that it might gain them that are without law.' Its language to one class is, 'Ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law?' To another class, 'Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free.' In short, it enforces its claim upon all orders and conditions of men, irrespective of their views of religion or politics. It predicates the duty of ecclesiastical or political action, not upon the inherent excellence of ecclesiastical or civil organizations, but upon the fact of their existence as props of the slave system, and upon the views and professions of those who are allied to them by choice.

1 Cor. 9:20, 21.

Gal. 4:21.

Gal. 5:1.

"2. As individuals, abolitionists may utter sentiments which, in their associated capacity, they may not express. He who becomes an abolitionist, is under no obligation to change his views respecting the duty of going to the polls, or of belonging to a sect; they are those of an individual, and not binding at all upon any other member of the anti-slavery society. But if the society itself presume to endorse those views as sound and obligatory upon all its members, then it violates the spirit of its own constitution; or, if not, then it is not true that it welcomes to its aid all men, of whatever creed or party, and hence does not stand upon 'the broad ground of a common humanity.' This distinction between the liberty of an indi-

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vidual, and of an association composed of many elements, is important, and essential as much to the harmony of the whole body as it is to personal free agency.

"3. The hue-and-cry now raised about the obligation of abolitionists to go to the polls, whether their views of human governments will allow them to do so, or not, we are satisfied, is in the vain hope of crushing the non-resistance enterprise, and proceeds from hatred of non-resistance principles rather than from any special regard for the slave. It is remarkable, too, that those who have suddenly become the most rampant for political action are clergymen — a very ominous sign of the times, by which more is meant than meets the eye!"

Right and Wrong in Mass., 1839, *p.* 138; *Lib.* 9:71.

Thanks to the indefatigable exertions of Collins, the new General Agent, the Massachusetts pledge was redeemed in the five weeks before May 1. In the meantime, as a specially appointed agent of the Society, Mr. Garrison entered upon an active lecturing tour in Plymouth, Bristol,[1] Worcester, Middlesex, and Essex Counties, everywhere strengthening the friends and dis-

[1] At New Bedford, on the evening of April 15 (*Lib.* 9:66), Mr. Garrison had Frederick Douglass, a six-months' freeman, among his auditors. The future great negro orator thus describes his impressions in his 'Life and Times' (ed. 1882, p. 214): "Soon after becoming a reader of the *Liberator*, it was my privilege to listen to a lecture in Liberty Hall, by Mr. Garrison, its editor. He was then a young man, of a singularly pleasing countenance, and earnest and impressive manner. On this occasion he announced nearly all his heresies. His Bible was his text-book — held sacred as the very word of the Eternal Father. He believed in sinless perfection, complete submission to insults and injuries, and literal obedience to the injunction, if smitten 'on one cheek to turn the other also.' Not only was Sunday a Sabbath, but all days were Sabbaths, and to be kept holy. All sectarianism was false and mischievous — the regenerated throughout the world being members of one body, and the head Christ Jesus. *Prejudice against color was rebellion against God.* Of all men beneath the sky, the slaves, because most neglected and despised, were nearest and dearest to his great heart. Those ministers who defended slavery from the Bible were of their 'father the devil'; and those churches which fellowshipped slaveholders as Christians, were synagogues of Satan, and our nation was a nation of liars. He was never loud and noisy, but calm and serene as a summer sky, and as pure. 'You are the man — the Moses raised up by God to deliver his modern Israel from bondage,' was the spontaneous feeling of my heart as I sat away back in the hall and listened to his mighty words — mighty in truth, mighty in their simple earnestness." Mr. Douglass's account is certainly tinged by his general recollection of Mr. Garrison's views at this period. The latter was speaking not only as an abolitionist, but as an agent.

comfiting the enemies of the *Liberator* and the Board; and closed his labors in Rhode Island, on the eve of embarking for New York, whither the scene of conflict next shifted. On May 1, Samuel J. May wrote ("with unabated affection") from South Scituate as follows:

MS. Mrs. Garrison.

"I was very sorry to leave Boston, week before last, not having called to see Helen and her mother. But every hour of my time was occupied, excepting Friday afternoon; and then, on my way to your house, I met Stanton and St. Clair, and entered into conversation with them about the wretched state of our anti-slavery society, and was detained two hours. Pray give my love to your wife and to her mother, and tell them I hope never again to be so near without seeing them.

"In the stage which brought me home, I found Bro. Whiting,[1] and from him I learnt that you had returned to Boston. And on my desk I found two letters inviting me to meet you at Plymouth. Since then I have seen several Plymouth people, and from all have learnt that the effect of your lectures and conversations there was excellent. Bro. Briggs[2] has become deeply interested in the cause. Robert B. Hall's wisdom seems to be turned away backwards.[3] But I am told he has not so completely lost his senses as to maintain that the colonization plan can ever effect the abolition of slavery.

"I now think I shall not go to New York next week. In the first place, I cannot afford the expense. . . . But I confess, I do not lament my inability to go so much as I should do if the prospect of an agreeable meeting was fairer. I am apprehensive that it will be not so much an anti-slavery as an anti-Garrison and anti-Phelps meeting, or an anti-Board-of-Managers and anti-Executive-Committee meeting. Division has done its work, I fear, effectually. The two parties seem to me to misunderstand, and therefore sadly misrepresent, one another. I am not satisfied with the course you and your partizans have pursued. It appears to me not consistent with the non-resistant, patient, long-suffering spirit of the Gospel. And I do not

[1] Nathaniel H. Whiting, appointed to lecture in the Old Colony (*Lib.* 9:66).

[2] George Ware Briggs, Unitarian clergyman at Plymouth.

[3] As early as July, 1837, it was apparent that Mr. Hall's clericalism had got the better of his abolitionism. On the 23d of that month, he refused to read a notice of an anti-slavery lecture, by A. A. Phelps, from the pulpit he was temporarily occupying in Cambridgeport, Mass., on the ground that the regular pastor had refused to do the same (*Lib.* 7:123). This sin was now doubtless forgiven him by Phelps.

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believe that either the cause of the slave, or the cause of peace and righteousness, has been advanced. I hope and pray that the result of the meeting at New York may be better than I fear.

"Why will you not come to Scituate after you return from New York, and spend a few days with me — lecture once in each part of the town — and give me an opportunity to converse with you upon the above-named and upon several other topics that are deeply interesting to us?"

In the same sense, Mr. May wrote to Henry C. Wright, *May* 2, 1839. on the day following, adding:

"It is hard and it is painful to me to refuse your urgent solicitation to attend the anniversary meeting of the American A. S. Society. . . . The reason that you urge for my attendance does not weigh with me. If the American Society sees fit to vote that those of us who cannot go to the polls are not qualified to be members, let it. Such a vote will not deaden my sympathy with the slave. It will not change my opinion or alter my course. I joined the Society not with any thought of making it the keeper of my conscience, or the guide of my actions, but in the belief that those of us who thought alike on this momentous subject, might effect more by our joint than by individual effort. I supposed the platform of the Society to be broad enough to sustain all, as fellow-laborers, who believe in the sinfulness of slaveholding and the duty of immediate emancipation, and who are disposed to labor in the use of moral means, to enforce upon slaveholders the duty of giving liberty to their captives without delay. I never dreamt that the Constitution was intended to enforce upon all the members of the Society any particular kind of action (excepting only moral action), but that it left every one to contribute his aid to the common cause in the way he himself believed to be best. If I have been mistaken, all I have to do is to labor as I may single-handed, or look about me for those who are willing to unite with me, and co-operate on some broad principle, that will not require any one to violate his individual convictions of right."

From Providence, on May 5, Mr. Garrison, in the best of spirits from his successful campaign, wrote to his *May* 2, 1839. wife: "Birney is out, in the last *Emancipator*, with a

long article, blowing up the non-resistance abolitionists. *Lib.* 9: 101. It is unfair, unmanly, and proscriptive, and shows that there is to be a desperate struggle this week at New York. I anticipate a breaking up of our whole organization. But my mind is calm and peaceful. The Lord of hosts is my rock and refuge."

Birney's letter was nicely calculated for effect on the approaching meeting, leaving no opportunity for rejoinder, and was entitled, "View of the Constitution of the American A. S. Society as connected with the 'No-Government' Question." It argued that political action through the ballot-box was involved in the avowed aim of the Society to determine Congressional legislation. Such action was inexpedient while membership was small, but now that it had become numerous, and the time had come to form an anti-slavery party, a new sect had arisen with a religious obligation not to vote. The exercise of force was denied alike to governments and parents — a doctrine which struck at the root of the social structure, and tended "to renew, under the sanction of religion, scenes of anarchy and license that have generally before been the offspring of the rankest infidelity and irreligion." The new sect held their views to be in harmony with the Constitution of the Society, and denounced "any interpretation of that instrument which would prove them unqualified for membership, and, therefore, throw on them the duty of retiring from the Society." The Society would, nevertheless, construe its Constitution for itself, and pay no heed to the mandate or the menace of any of its members. It had no power to inspect or expel them, but left it to their integrity and self-respect to retire or to move an alteration of the Constitution. There could be no harmony with them in the same organization. Birney showed the absurdity of non-voters petitioning Congress, or urging others to vote. He would not trample on conscientious scruples, but if the Constitution *required* members to vote, they were justly bound to do so, or the provision was nullified.

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Alleging a no-government attempt to force the Society into a crusade for abolishing government, he called upon the promoters of it to get out, and relieve the cause of an incubus.

This modest performance was considerably in advance of the position taken a few months before by the Executive Committee of the New York State Society, in a circular addressed to its auxiliaries. The Committee, with no settled notions of its own, but moved by the recreancy of the abolition voters at the late elections, sought to procure uniformity of views in relation to political action. They believed it unwise as yet to organize an anti-slavery party, deeming it unnecessary if abolitionists did their duty regardless of party ties. They would incorporate in the constitutions of future (and, in time, of all) local anti-slavery societies this clause: "No member of this society shall vote for any candidate for a law-maker who is not in favor of the immediate abolition of slavery and of those legal distinctions, grounded on color. which are at once a support and result of slavery."

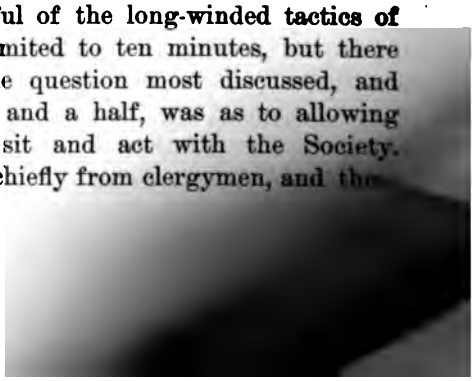
Lib. 9:45.

The flower of Massachusetts abolitionism went to New York as delegates to the anniversary meeting. Even Phelps was included in the official selection, though a few days later he resigned his seat in the Board and the office of Recording Secretary of the Massachusetts Society, which was, he untruthfully asserted, no longer an anti-slavery society simply, but in its principles and modes of action had become "a woman's-rights, non-government anti-slavery society." The assembled body proved to be exceptionally strong and unexpectedly harmonious, its day and evening sessions lasting from Tuesday, May 7, to Friday, May 10. Speeches (on motion of Mr. Garrison, mindful of the long-winded tactics of his opponents) were limited to ten minutes, but there was no flagging. The question most discussed, and which occupied a day and a half, was as to allowing women delegates to sit and act with the Society. The opposition came chiefly from clergymen, and the

Lib. 9:63.

Lib. 9:71.

Lib. 9:79.



from Massachusetts; Nathaniel Colver moving that the committee enroll only men. With him voted his brother ministers Phelps, Orange Scott, George Storrs, George Allen, Beriah Green, La Roy Sunderland, among others, together with Birney and Lewis Tappan. Gerrit Smith, who was in the chair, and voted for the admission of women, thought that five to one were on his side, but Lewis Tappan called for the yeas and nays, which carried the vote over till the next forenoon, and gave a chance for rallying the opposition, and the final vote stood 180 yeas to 140 nays. Even then Phelps strove to obtain a declaration that the vote did not mean that women should speak, or act on committees; but this was of course negatived, and when Mr. Garrison afterwards, having the floor, yielded it to Abby Kelley, she exercised her right to address her fellow-delegates, while Gerrit Smith gave her a place in committee. *Lib.* 9:82. *Lib.* 9:89.

This authoritative official decision greatly rejoiced Mr. Garrison. "We hail it," he said, "with unmingled satisfaction as an era in the history of human rights. It is worth more to the cause of humanity than was received into the treasury of the Parent Society during the past year." Moreover, it placed that Society in accord with the State organizations of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania, and with the New England Convention. Tappan and Torrey gave notice of a protest, which was presently received, bearing 116 signatures, and ordered to be printed with the proceedings. It pronounced the Society's action in regard to women unconstitutional, and [let the *political* expounders of the Constitution mark it] repugnant to the wishes, wisdom, or moral sense of many early and present members of the Society. *Lib.* 9:79. *Lib.* 9:87.

So far the response was favorable to "the question whether the Society would have anything to do with Garrison," which a correspondent of the *Christian Mirror* "found it familiarly spoken of as one object of the Convention to settle." It remained to fix the rights of State *Lib.* 9:81.

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Societies with reference to the Executive Committee, and here Gerrit Smith's large-mindedness was again conspicuous in supporting a resolution urgently advising the Committee not to send, into any State, agents not acceptable to the managers of the State Society. Against this the Massachusetts seceders contended strongly, but the vote in its favor was overwhelming. The Committee was again checkmated when proposing to send an agent to England to raise funds for the Society, to which Mr. Garrison with others objected; and to raise $32,500 for its own use during the coming year, which Alvan Stewart resisted, affirming that a dollar spent at Utica was worth three dollars spent at New York. In short, little respect was paid to the grasping aims of the Committee as intimated in a passage in their report which said, that "the cause divided by State action does not present so commanding a front as if all its resources were concentrated in the national association."

Lib. 9:79.

Lib. 9:79.

Lib. 9:78.

The final struggle with the Executive Committee was over that part of the annual report which related to political action. Mr. Garrison moved its reference to a committee of one from each State represented, and, this having been carried and he made chairman, reported back a recommendation that the part in question be omitted or amended, as liable to misconstruction. At the same time, he offered three resolves of his own drafting, which were adopted, the Committee being allowed to print their views as their own, and not as those of the Society:

Lib. 9:82.

Lib. 9:82.

"1. Resolved, That it is the duty of the American people, and especially of abolitionists, to endeavor to elect such men only to legislative and other official stations as will advocate the repeal of every legal enactment by which the aid of the public authority is lent to the support of slavery.

"2. Resolved, That the temporary and repeated failures to attain the objects sought by abolitionists, in petitioning and in voting at the polls for opponents of slavery, constitute no valid grounds for abandoning those measures; but we have full con-

fidence that a steady perseverance in them will secure an ultimate triumph.

"3. Resolved, That in the original formation of this Society it was not contemplated, nor is it now desired, to exclude from its membership any persons, on account of their being prevented by conscientious scruples from participating in all the measures which the mass of the Society, either originally or subsequently, may have contemplated as proper for the advancement of the anti-slavery cause."

Mr. Birney was the leading opponent of these resolves, but failed distinctly to substitute one of his own to this effect: "That to maintain that the elective franchise ought not to be used by abolitionists to advance the cause of emancipation, is inconsistent with the duty of abolitionists under the Constitution." This was a disingenuous implication that such a doctrine was advocated by the non-resistant abolitionists; but the Society was not deceived by it. John G. Whittier had better success with a resolution reported through the business committee, which the Massachusetts delegation endeavored to modify in such a way as to leave nothing to be read between the lines; but it was adopted by a small majority (84 to 77). Thus it ran: "Resolved, That this Society still holds, as it has from the beginning, that the employment of the political franchises, as established by the Constitution and laws of the country, so as to promote the abolition of slavery, is of high obligation — a duty which, as abolitionists, we owe to our enslaved fellow-countrymen, groaning under legal oppression."

On the whole, Mr. Garrison was able to return home with as light a heart as he brought. The Parent Society remained loyal to his liberal original principles; and if Birney and Stanton did not feel it their duty, as overruled expounders of the Constitution, to withdraw, he would not grudge them their election (along with Theodore D. Weld) as corresponding secretaries for the ensuing year. Elizur Wright's place was filled by Joshua Leavitt, who had "behaved in an honorable manner" *Lib.* 9: 83.

Lib. 9: 82.

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towards Mr. Garrison and his associates, while more in sympathy with their opponents. Mr. Wright himself, by a strange coincidence, took passage for Boston on the same steamboat with Mr. Garrison, who thus good-naturedly reported the adventure in the *Liberator:*

Lib. 9:83. *C. T. Torrey.*

"We found on board a very large company, including several of our anti-slavery friends, among whom was our bro. Elizur Wright, jr., who was on his way to take charge of the *Abolitionist* — a paper which is to please everybody who is displeased with us, and enable our clerical brother in Salem (C. T. T.), Corresponding Secretary of the Essex County A. S. Society, to inform all the members of that association of the time of its regular meetings! The time has been when our bro. W. would sooner have consented to pluck out a right eye, or cut off a right hand, than to edit a journal got up in rank hostility to the *Liberator*. How long, or to what extent, he will suffer himself to be made the tool of a factious, sectarian body of men, time must determine. That, in the end, they will find that, in securing his services, they have 'caught a Tartar,' we have very little doubt. He is an able, ready and caustic writer, and will not spare any political doughface or clerical dumb dog in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, or elsewhere. However widely we may differ in time to come, nothing can ever occur to lessen our admiration of the zeal, the talent, the self-sacrificing spirit, the generous daring, he has exhibited in the anti-slavery cause from a very early period."

It was not till after the New England Convention — the scene of the next engagement in this battle year — that Mr. Garrison found time to prepare an answer to Birney's abortive dictation to quit the ranks. On May 20 he wrote to Henry C. Wright at Newburyport: "Lewis Tappan has written a very bad letter in reply to a letter of our committee inviting him to attend the New England Convention. He is in a sad state of mind. Your letter respecting Birney is received. I mean to reply to him next week." The *Liberator* of June 28 contained the attack and the repulse, both reproduced from the *Emancipator*. Mr. Garrison began by rebuking the editor for having admitted Birney's essay without com-

MS.

Lib. 9:101, 102.

ment, which he called "a prostitution of the official organ of the Parent Society to party purposes." The essay was as much out of place as one on infant sprinkling would have been. It had filled him with grief and amazement, and, as a peace man and an abolitionist, he denied all Birney's allegations. He rejected the "no-government" epithet as libellous. "We religiously hold to government"—of heaven, not of man. Taking up the arguments of his censor, he disposed of them in a number of syllogisms, the fundamental one being as follows:

"To 'endeavor to influence Congress' is required by the Anti-Slavery Constitution;

"But Congress can be influenced independent of political action at the polls;

"Therefore, such action is not required by the Constitution."

Moreover, Congress was to be influenced as an existing body; the *creation* of it was not in question. Moral action, again, was alone contemplated by the Constitution; but this was enjoined by nature and by God. Political action was a privilege, and constituted no moral test whatever. In the nature of the case it could not be a test for women, minors, aliens (all of whom were to be found among the subscribers to the Constitution), while conscientious scruples debarred from it Covenanters, non-resistants, many of the Society of Friends, some of the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments, and not a few of the framers of the Constitution itself. Yet these were shown to the door by Mr. Birney, as disqualified for membership: "In other words, the American Anti-Slavery Society ought, and was designed, to be a thoroughly POLITICAL ORGANIZATION." To this self-constituted Board of Inspection non-resistants gave notice that they would not leave the Society, seeing no difficulty in harmonious action, conscientiously, as heretofore. The charge that it was absurd in them to petition Congress, they met by affirming that however inconsistent they might appear

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as *non-resistants* in so doing, they were obedient to the Constitution as *abolitionists;* and as abolitionists alone were they on trial.

If political action were the imperative duty pretended by Birney, how many were needed to begin to perform it, that it should have been postponed till now? But "pro-government" men were not agreed as to the duty. Elizur Wright had said: "The ballot-box is not an abolition argument." And, still more pointedly, the same writer had held that "abolitionists have but one work: it is *not to put anybody into office or out of it*, but TO SET RIGHT THOSE WHO MAKE OFFICERS. It is not an action upon *Church or State*, but UPON THE MATERIALS OF BOTH." Neither, he continued, is it to abolish slavery "*by machinery*, POLITICAL OR ECCLESIASTICAL," but by appeals to the heart. Touching the capital sought to be made of his once having voted for Amasa Walker, Mr. Garrison said:

Ante, 1:455; 2:288.

Lib. 9:102.

"I am quoted, by Mr. Birney, as 'having set the example of voting for a professed abolitionist, and encouraging others to do the same.' As to this citation — *cui bono?* I humbly conceive that it concerns no man, or body of men, to know how many or how few times I have voted since the adoption of the A. S. Constitution; or whether I have, or have not, changed my views of politics within a few years. What *I* may have said and done, and what the *Constitution* enjoins, are wholly distinct questions. I deny to no individual abolitionist the right to inculcate the doctrine that it is the religious duty of every man to go to the polls; but when he assumes that the Constitution of the Parent Society maintains that doctrine, and aims to get it endorsed by the Society, as such, in the hope that he shall thus be able to create a schism in the abolition ranks, I pronounce him a disorganizing spirit, however pathetically he may talk about breaking the chains of 'the poor slaves,' or of his fears that they will be left to perish unless he can succeed in making others swallow his political dogmas.

"It is quite remarkable that some of those who have been foremost in protesting against being reckoned my followers — who have been loudest in their boasts that they follow no man — who have been unwilling that I should be regarded as the

mouthpiece of the Anti-Slavery Society, in any sense — who have repelled the slightest intimation from the enemies of abolition that the Society is responsible for the sayings and doings of the *Liberator* — I say, it is quite remarkable that all at once, in the eyes of those persons, I have become an official organ, an unerring oracle, the Magnus Apollo of the whole land, whose speech and example are to be followed implicitly — because they have ascertained that, since the year 1833, I have actually voted *once* at the polls! They shall not make me vain. I perceive the design of this incense-offering — to cast me off from the anti-slavery cause, (paradoxical as the statement may seem), in order to secure 'the co-operation of the ☞ GREAT MASS OF THE INTELLIGENT MIND [i. e. the aristocracy, the rabbis and scribes] of the nation.' I am not willing to be made a tool for their convenience — to be crowned this hour that I may be deposed the next; for it is not true that the *Liberator* has ever been the official journal of any society or body of men, or that any other person, besides its editor, is responsible either for the religious or political sentiments contained in its columns."

It was false witness to charge him with lugging his views on government into anti-slavery meetings: his accusers — Birney, Elizur Wright, Phelps, and Scott — had done this. "As men, as citizens, as Christians, we confess that we have advocated the heaven-originated cause of Non-Resistance, and shall continue to do so, until we are convicted of error,—*but not as abolitionists.* 'The head and front of our offending hath this extent — no more.'" And yet the non-resistance theory is embodied in the Anti-Slavery Constitution and Declaration of Sentiments — the two instruments being admitted by Birney to be of equal weight. When he says of this theory — "Our wives, our daughters, our sisters, our mothers, we are to see set upon by the most brutal without any effort, on our part, except argument, to defend them; and even they themselves are forbidden to use, in defence of their purity, such powers as God has endowed them with for its protection, if resistance should be attended with injury or destruction to the assailant" — he simply echoes what the Declaration enjoins upon

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the *slave*. As against the principles of the Revolutionary fathers, "ours," it says, "forbid the doing of evil that good may come"; while the Constitution pledges the Society "*never*, IN ANY WAY, [to] countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by a resort to physical force." The non-resistants alone obey this to the letter, and yet are bade get out or "amend the Constitution." Assuredly, the founders did not all appreciate what they were doing when they subscribed to this doctrine: "All this I readily admit. What I mean to say is, that, by a strict and fair construction of the instruments above alluded to, *non-resistance is more explicitly enjoined upon abolitionists than the duty of using the elective franchise.*"[1]

Still, Mr. Garrison expected to see abolitionists at the ballot-box, renovating the political action of the country, though the reformation must come, "not by attempting to prove that it is the duty of every abolitionist to be a voter, but that it is the duty of every voter to be an abolitionist." He expected, further, to see political action purified and renovated "in exact proportion to the prevalence of the great conservative doctrines of non-resistance"; for, since the greater includes the less, no person could be a non-resistant without being a whole-hearted abolitionist. Already the "no-government" doctrine had set the clergy to preaching the duty of politics; and where it had struck its roots deepest, in Massachusetts, there was found the most devoted, the leading

[1] So thought and wrote David Lee Child, in a masterly letter designed to be read at the American anniversary: "For myself, I have never been able to conceive of any principle on which slaves can be discountenanced in resorting to physical force, except that of total abstinence from all violence. . . . I submit whether here are not materials for showing that non-resistance is incorporated in our Society, more ample than have been or can be found to prove that it was intended for political electioneering" (*Lib.* 9:86). Considering the attempt to deduce a particular form of "political influence" from the general profession on that head, Mr. Child asked, Would any one prescribe the way in which to encourage the "religious improvement of the people of color," also enjoined by the Constitution? Joshua Leavitt's candid view in opposition to Birney may be read in *Lib.* 9:63; and see Mr. Garrison's rejoinder to Luther Lee's review of his reply to Birney (*Lib.* 9:141, 143).

abolition State, made so by the *Liberator* beyond denial. CHAP. V. 1839.
"I repeat it," continued Mr. Garrison, "as the stirring conviction of my heart, and the logical deduction of my understanding, that Non-Resistance is destined to pour new life-blood into the veins of Abolition — to give it extraordinary vigor — to clothe it with new beauty — to inspire it with holier feelings — to preserve it from corruption — though not necessarily connected with it." And so, with a denial of Birney's right, as Secretary of the American Society, to determine for abolitionists whether they should use the birch or the cowhide in family discipline, unless he would also look after their diet and their theology; and with a repudiation of the comparison drawn between the Anabaptists and the "no-government" professors, Mr. Garrison concluded his lengthy rejoinder.

Once more the curtain rises upon Massachusetts and upon the completion of the local drama. On May 28, 1839, three hundred delegates to the New England Convention assembled in Boston. The woman question was promptly lugged in by Phelps — for the last time, as the event proved — who wished only "gentlemen" enrolled; and was as promptly lugged out by a large majority. Mr. Phelps was again brought to his feet by the resolutions of the business committee denouncing the formation of a new State anti-slavery society as a dangerous movement, hostile to the genius of abolitionism, and unworthy of the anti-slavery professions of those who countenanced it. Torrey, likewise, and Elizur Wright, were heard in self-defence; the latter giving a spice of humor to the occasion by contending that the old Society was properly no longer in existence. On the third day, further resolutions declared the American Society's Constitution silent as to the duty of voting, and that it was not essential to membership to believe or disbelieve in this duty. The Convention agreed to a motion of S. J. May's, that no reasonable effort should be spared to heal the breach in the ranks, but followed Mr. Garrison's lead in oppos-

Lib. 9: 87, 90, 91, 94.

Lib. 9: 91.

May 30, 1839.

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ing the appointment of a committee to give it practical effect, by conferring with the new organizationists. These, whose formal secession took place on the first day, after the right of female membership had been reasserted, had met and drawn up a constitution on the day previous (May 27), but first organized themselves on the day following (May 29). Elizur Wright was made corresponding secretary, and Phelps recording secretary, while Torrey prepared a disclaimer of any sectarian or party purpose — the simple object of the Massachusetts Abolition Society being to disconnect the abolition cause from its encumbrances. It was now a race for the control of the existing abolition machinery of the State, and for the approval of the Parent Society.

Lib. 9: 95.

The first start was made by the Executive Committee of the new society, in a justificatory address to the people of Massachusetts, which was promptly followed by one from the old Board, drafted by Mr. Garrison. To form, said the latter, a new State society in a State where one already existed, was a virtual declaration of war on the entire anti-slavery organization. The New York Executive Committee could not properly recognize both, even if their constitutions were identical; nevertheless, it had countenanced and actively coöperated with the new organization, which, but for the unjustifiable interference of the members of the Committee with Massachusetts affairs, would not have been formed. The new society's course was partial and proscriptive. It had organized privately, without a general invitation, and had not received the approval of any anti-slavery society in the State.[1] It "did not originate with THE PEOPLE, the ABOLITION LAITY, but with a few clerical gentlemen"; and nearly all who engaged in public advocacy of it were clergymen. Yet "neither the management of the anti-slavery cause, nor that cause itself, belongs to any professional body." A like exclusive-

Lib. 9: 114.

[1] The Bristol County Society had rescinded its action (*Lib.* 9:59).

ness was seen in the new Society's provision for having its meetings composed of officers, agents, and a proportional representation (through *male* delegates) of auxiliary societies, instead of welcoming the largest possible representation. Regardless of the fact that no anti-slavery society had ever attempted to settle the question of woman's rights, but only to interpret the word "person" in its constitution, the new society made it a ground of separation from the old that the latter upheld a change in the sphere of woman's action which was "a moral wrong — a thing forbidden alike by the word of God, the dictates of right reason, the voice of wisdom, and the modesty of unperverted nature." Notwithstanding this, the Massachusetts Abolition Society was made auxiliary to the American Society, which had gone further than the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society by appointing women on committees. This affiliation was "in the vain hope that the American Society will retrace its steps at the next annual meeting. Should it adhere to its recent decision, then an attempt will doubtless be made to organize a rival national society, to be managed by a small conservative body, after the pattern of the Massachusetts Abolition Society." Equally shallow pretexts with the woman question were the alleged coldness of the Massachusetts Board towards political action, and its rejection of resolutions (on account of their intended proscriptive application) as if in subserviency to the "no-government" doctrine.

Ante, p. 297.

The next move came from the New York Executive Committee, which issued an address to the abolitionists of the United States, refusing countenance to the novel doctrine that it is not a duty to go to the polls, and promising to resist extraneous reform projects from any quarter. This utterance was timed for the National Convention of Abolitionists which the Committee, in response to a desire on the part of some of the auxiliary societies, had proposed to meet at Albany in July, the American Society concurring at its May meeting. Both

Lib. 9: 119.

Lib. 9: 59.

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the time and the place of this convention were favorable (not to say, had reference) to such a change in the representation as should give an advantage to the political faction. The language of the call itself was significant. The invitation was extended only to "such *freemen* of the United States as adopt the principles embodied in the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society," and the object of meeting declared to be "the thorough discussion of those great principles which lie at the foundation of the abolition enterprise, throughout the civilized world; and of the measures which are suited to its accomplishment in the United States, and especially those which relate to the proper exercise of the right of suffrage by citizens of the free States. All questions and matters foreign to this object will be cautiously avoided in the deliberations of the occasion."

Lib. 9:91.

July 31, 1839.

On the assembling of some five hundred delegates — the Massachusetts disorganizers being present in force — Mr. Garrison took the committee of arrangements (embracing Goodell, Stanton and Leavitt) to task for their unprecedented and proscriptive phraseology, for which there was no warrant in their instructions. He was ruled out of order by the presiding officer, Alvan Stewart. He then moved that "freemen" meant "all persons," but was beaten by a large majority; whereupon he formulated a protest which was ordered read and printed, and was subsequently signed by upwards of sixty delegates. He objected to the committee's assurance that "extraneous matters" would be excluded, for they were not competent or authorized to determine the proceedings of the convention, or justified in assuming that such matters were generally lugged in at anti-slavery meetings. The president, on his part, had no right to assume that the political, more than the religious, aspect of the cause was germane to the convention. The convention itself, by voting to exclude women, completed the demonstration that its organization, spirit

Lib. 9:127.

Lib. 9:127, 135.

and proceedings were "not in strict accordance with the genius and scope of the anti-slavery enterprise."

Mr. Garrison declined to take an active part in the business of such a convention,[1] which in the end proved rather a tame affair, sitting three days to produce three resolutions, to wit: that the members pledged themselves [almost unanimously] to vote for no man who would not avow his immediatism, and hence neither for Henry Clay nor for Martin Van Buren; that every abolitionist who had a right to vote was entreated to do so; that abolitionists were recommended to adopt such a course in respect to independent Presidential nominations as seemed best for the cause in each section. A fourth resolution was passed by a manœuvre half an hour before adjournment. The business committee (on which Mr. Garrison had refused to serve with Stanton, Scott and Whittier) submitted a proposition looking to the nomination of a President and Vice-President for abolition suffrages. In full convention this met with no favor, but at the last moment it was recalled from the table, several warm speeches made in its behalf, and no time allowed for reply. Mr. Garrison suffered a second indignity at the hands of the president when the latter refused to put the following resolution, offered as an amendment to the committee's:

Lib. 9: 131.

"Resolved, as the deliberate sense of this Convention, that any attempt on the part of the abolitionists of the United States to nominate candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of this republic, or to organize a distinct political party, would be liable to put in imminent peril the integrity and success of the anti-slavery enterprise."

[1] Ellis Gray Loring led the effective opposition to the third-party sentiment. (See George Bradburn's lively account in *Lib.* 9: 138.) Orange Scott made furious thrusts, "accompanied by a peculiarly appropriate expression of face," at Mr. Garrison, who bore it like a Christian. This clergyman doubted if God would pardon a man's soul for omitting to vote for the slave. But political abolitionism meant something more than voting for the slave — it meant voting for *the candidate of the party* — under pain of clerical anathema. (See Myron Holley's resolution at West Bloomfield, N. Y., and Joseph C. Hathaway's comment in *Lib.* 10: 38.)

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So the convention dispersed, a satisfaction to nobody, yet on the whole serving the purposes of Stanton and Holley. Its permanent outcome was an address on the "Slave Power" entrenched in the Constitution. "The question of its [slavery's] abolition," the American public was admonished, "is the greatest political question now before the people for decision," and resistance to slavery "the highest political duty now resting upon every freeman." This doctrine was at least as old as 1830. But in the declaration that the *only* force which can reach the citadel is the ballot-box, and that the ballot-box is the *only peaceful* mode of securing abolition,[1] we recognize a new departure, which led directly up to the election of Abraham Lincoln — and to civil war.

Lib. 9 : 133.

Nevertheless, the desideratum for a third party,— actual nominations,— was wanting. A special meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society had been appointed for October 23 at Cleveland, Ohio, and was urged in advance by Myron Holley and thirteen of his Rochester townsmen to name an anti-slavery Presidential ticket. Despite the explicit resolutions of the American Society in 1837 and 1838, and Elizur Wright's official report in accordance with them,[2] both the *Eman-*

Life of Myron Holley, p. 252; *Lib.* 9 : 163.

Lib. 9 : 170.

[1] Alvan Stewart wrote to the *Emancipator* in January, 1840: "An independent abolition political party is the only hope for the redemption of the slave" (*Mass. Abolitionist*, 2 : 1). And this sentiment of Abraham L. Pennock's, of Pennsylvania, "What an absurdity is moral action apart from political," was expressly endorsed as his own by Whittier in February, 1841 ([*Mass. Abol.*] *Free American*, 3 : 13).

[2] "It is quite true that up to and in the last Annual Report of the American A. S. Society which I wrote, I opposed the formation of a distinct anti-slavery party. But directly after that report was written, I listened to arguments — particularly by Alvan Stewart — which convinced me I was wrong. I corresponded with Garrison, hoping that the same arguments might convince him. My friendship was never broken by the fact that he was not convinced. And that my friendship was genuine, I can appeal to the fact that when he and Knapp were in danger of being sold out by the sheriff for debt, I begged money in New York to save them" (MS. April 15, 1881, Elizur Wright to Oliver Johnson). See, for the sudden change that came over the trio (presumably in consequence of Alvan Stewart's persuasiveness), a circular distributed and signed by Birney, Wright, and Stanton in July, 1838, arguing in favor of catechising candidates as prefer-

cipator and the *Massachusetts Abolitionist* approved of the Holley movement, whereas it at once received Mr. Garrison's condemnation. In the name of the Massachusetts Board of Managers he composed an address to the anti-slavery electors of the State, setting forth his objections. CHAP. V. 1839. *Lib.* 9:170.

The proposed third party would, he said, not unite but divide abolitionists, for a minority at least would not go with it. But besides this weakening of their political strength, they would be invaded by a swarm of unprincipled aspirants, seeking loaves and fishes, and making flaming anti-slavery pretensions: abolition would thus soon become a marketable commodity. The cause, consequently, would lose its reputation for disinterestedness, while the power of moral suasion would receive an implicit denial. Moreover, the pulpit would be deterred from continuing its anti-slavery testimony, because it would then be taking part in politics, and making "electioneering harangnes." As for the two leading parties, their whole weight was now held in check by the anti-slavery members in their ranks, but would then be precipitated on the new party.[1] "All political minorities," again, "are more or less liberal"; and hitherto the minority in any free State, whether Whig or Democratic,

able to a third party, as to which — "We hope our friends . . . will discountenance any such attempt" (*Lib.* 9:183).

[1] Quite a different view was held by John Quincy Adams. Noting in his diary, Nov. 24, 1838, an interview with Edmund Quincy on the subject of the abolitionists' tactics in interrogating candidates, he writes: "The moral principle of their interference to defeat elections when they cannot carry them, appears to me to be vicious; and I think the first result of their movements will be to bring the two parties together against them. As yet, their political action has only tended to break down the barriers between the parties, the natural consequence of which is to strengthen the Administration which they abhor." Naturally, the Whigs, who were in opposition, felt the embarrassment of being interrogated more than did the Democrats, and saw in it only a trick to play into the hands of Van Buren's adherents. Compare the letter of Nathaniel B. Borden, representative in Congress from the Tenth Mass. District, to W. L. Garrison, Dec. 6, 1838 (MS.); and another to Francis Jackson, Jan. 3, 1840 (MS.), in which he regarded the third-party movement as equally tributary to the Administration.

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has been tolerant of anti-slavery members, to the great advantage of a struggling cause.

Lib. 9: 170.

"Abolitionists! You are now feared and respected by all political parties,— not because of the number of votes you can throw, so much as in view of the moral integrity and sacred regard to principle which you have exhibited to the country. It is the religious aspect of your enterprise which impresses and overawes men of every sect and party. Hitherto, you have seemed to be actuated by no hope of preferment or love of power, and therefore have established, even in the minds of your enemies, confidence in your disinterestedness. If you shall now array yourselves as a political party, and hold out mercenary rewards to induce men to rally under your standard, there is reason to fear that you will be regarded as those who have made the anti-slavery cause a hobby to ride into office, however plausible or sound may be your pretexts for such a course. You cannot, you ought not to expect that the political action of the State will move faster than the religious action of the Church, in favor of the abolition of slavery; and it is a fact, not less encouraging than undeniable, that both the Whig and Democratic parties have consulted the wishes of abolitionists even beyond the measure of their real political strength. More you cannot expect, under any circumstances."

Mr. Garrison's views were fully shared by Lewis Tappan, and forcibly expressed in a letter to the *Emancipator*. He predicted that the effect on abolitionists of forming a new party would be to make them forget to operate on the consciences of slaveholders. Further, in abandoning the balance-of-power vote, which had worked very well, they would make constant exposure of the smallness of their numbers, whence their moral strength would come to seem equally contemptible, and defeat at the polls would discourage all effort in other ways.[1] Later, in taking sides against J. G. Birney on this question, Mr.

Lib. 9: 186.

Lib. 9: 203.

[1] David Lee Child, in the letter cited above (p. 304), said: "*We have got ourselves prematurely counted.*" Heretofore, the numbers of the abolitionists being measured by the goodness of their cause, "we have been thought stronger than we were; now, we are deemed weaker than we are." John Quincy Adams was of the same opinion (Second Letter to Citizens of the United States, *Lib.* 9: 90).

ppan contended not only that such a party had not n contemplated at the foundation of the Constitution he American Society, but that it would be uncon- tional to form it. Mr. Garrison, without assenting his proposition, agreed to the argument from inex- ency. No such party, certainly, had been considered measure near or remote at the inception of the ety: CHAP. V. 1839. *Cf. ante*, p. 245.

> he anti-slavery enterprise was commenced as one strictly l and religious. It never contemplated the extinction of eligious sect or political party as necessary for its success, e it found in the doctrines of every sect and party h, if practically carried out, to ensure the overthrow of y—the one great object it has ever had in view. It t as easy to prove that it is the duty of abolitionists to a new religious sect as to organize a distinct political . And we ask, suppose such a proposition should be upon them, because it is lawful, and because they are d to do 'all that is lawfully in their power,' what would inevitable consequence?" *Lib.* 9:203.

e anti-third-party sentiment in Ohio, the scene of oming convention, was in accord with that of Lewis an and the Massachusetts Board. "Our object," ted the Western Reserve Anti-Slavery Convention, address on the subject of political action, "is not ormation of a distinct political party. Such a we now disclaim, as we have always disclaimed Ve repudiate the name of party." At the southern nity of the State, Gamaliel Bailey, in his *Philan- st*, took the same ground, furnishing fresh reasons dition to those already advanced by Mr. Garrison. ew party, while a minority, could offer no political ds, and therefore would have to rely upon moral . But why, he asked, not continue to do so in the ay? And again, touching the marrow of the on, a political party, he said, would necessarily be narrower basis than Anti-slavery, which is against y everywhere, whereas a party could only be against *Lib.* 9:173. *Lib.* 9:193. *Lib.* 9:205.

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slavery in the District and other Territories, against the admission of Texas and Florida, against the inter-State slave trade. Of the same mind were the majority of the delegates to the Convention when it met at Cleveland on October 23; 360 out of 400 being from Ohio. Even to "lug in" the woman question appeared impolitic, and so, on motion of H. B. Stanton, all *persons* were admitted to a share in the proceedings. The political resolutions which he offered, carefully avoided the proposal of a third party, yet did not go unmodified before acceptance. Finally, he felt constrained to vote against Myron Holley's resolution proposing a nominating committee then and there.

Lib. 9: 182, 193.

Henry B. Stanton to Elizur Wright, Jr.

Life of Myron Holley, p. 254.

CLEVELAND, Monday, Oct. 28, 1839.

DEAR WRIGHT: I believe your brother, whom I saw at our meeting, is to give you a notice of it for the *Abolitionist*, therefore I will simply answer your good letter, for which I thank you.

Myron Holley brought forward the subject of nominating Anti-slavery candidates for Pres. and V. P. The discussion lasted half an afternoon, the whole of an evening, and half a forenoon. The proposition was finally laid on the table. My main reason for voting for this disposition of it was this: — To have nominated candidates would have been a surprise on the great mass of our friends.

Nothing of the kind was indicated in the call. It was a local meeting, called for special objects at the West. It was local in its representation, being confined chiefly to Ohio. The measure was as extraordinary as would have been a dissolution of the Society, and therefore our auxiliary societies would have been aggrieved by it, greatly. A nomination made before we see whether the parties will put up anybody for whom we can go, would, by the mass of our friends, have been deemed premature — and had we made a nomination, and the Whigs had put up Scott[1] and John Davis, *and we had called a Convention in New York State to nominate an A. S. electoral ticket, that Conven-*

[1] General Winfield Scott, just then prominent in connection with the troubles on the Canadian border.

tion would have declared it inexpedient to do so, and thus nullified the whole thing. It would have been thought a trick, getting away out here and doing what we knew we could not do at the centre.

No; so extraordinary a move as the nomination of national candidates, in my opinion, should not be made by the Am. Society without due notice to that effect. Give due notice, and then all are bound to take notice and be present, or forever after hold their peace.

This is my plan. Wait till both parties have nominated, and then, if Clay and Van Buren are the men, call a great Convention to consider the wisdom of nominating. This will go strong. Anything short of this would split the Society and prove a failure.

Our meeting was a grand one. 400 delegates. No miserable woman question, non-resistance, nor 15-minute rule to perplex, confuse and gag us. *Ante, p. 296.*

Haste, thine,

H. B. S.

Elizur Wright's "good letter" which elicited the above response, was equally unintended to see the light. Mr. Garrison heard of it a month after the Convention, when he received from a subscriber the following communication, written on the first and third pages of a letter-sheet bearing the device of a kneeling female slave (the "miserable woman question"), and the legend, "Am I not a Woman and a Sister?"

To W. L. Garrison.

OHIO CITY, Nov. 14th, 1839. *MS.*

DEAR SIR: At the "Cleveland Meeting" there fell into my hands accidentally a letter from Mr. Wright to H. B. Stanton — confidential, of course — which stated, in substance, that "things in their new society had been most wretchedly managed; that they had harped too much on the woman's rights question, and that they must have a nomination of candidates for the Presidency and V. P., as Garrison would oppose this and they could then shift the issue" — *i. e.*, from woman's rights to the nomination question; and again, "if we do not have a nomination the Mass. Abolition Soc. *must go down.*" *E. Wright, Jr.*

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Nov. 15, 1839.

DEAR SIR: The statements communicated to you on the first page of this sheet are from a person with whom you are acquainted, and in whom you doubtless do and can place the utmost confidence; but his connection with the Society of this State is such that he thought it not prudent to give his name, for fear that by some accident it might become known to the public, and would probably create hardness between some of the friends of abolition in Massachusetts and Ohio, not only, but between the friends of the cause in New York and Ohio, etc. You are told that the letter of Mr. Wright fell into the hands of the writer of the first page accidentally — *i. e.*, it was in a package of letters handed him to examine to see if there was anything contained in them (in his judgment) advisable for the "Cleveland Meeting" to act upon.

Yours, with sincere regard,

LYMAN CROWL.

Mr. Garrison's call for the letter in the *Liberator* of November 29 compelled Mr. Wright to recover and publish it in his own paper, from which it was quickly transferred to the *Liberator*, and reprinted week after week.[1] The writer's charge that it was "pilfered" (repeated in his 'Life of Myron Holley' in 1882), is refuted by the correspondence just given. Here is what Mr. Garrison called "the detected letter," and what, from the colloquial expression in the first sentence, came to be familiarly referred to as the "streak letter":

Lib. 9:[191].
Lib. 9: 199, *etc.*
P. 253.
Lib. 9: 195.

Elizur Wright, Jr., to Henry B. Stanton.

Lib. 9: 199, *etc.*

DORCHESTER, October 12, 1839.

DEAR STANTON: Saw only the *streak* of you as you passed here. So I *must* say a word in scrawl which I should have said vocally. It is this — as you are a man and no mouse, urge the American Society at Cleveland to take a decided step towards *Presidential candidates*. Our labor will be more than half lost without them. It is a step which we have always contem-

[1] The Executive Committee of the Mass. Abolition Society promptly disavowed it in their organ before the full text had become known (*Lib.* 9: 195). They had "caught a Tartar," as Mr. Garrison had predicted (*ante*, p. 300).

plated as one which Providence *might* force upon us. Has not the time come? What else can we do except to *back out*? The South can outbid us, and hence she will buy up both political parties, as to national politics, *ad infinitum*. We *must* have a free Northern nucleus—a standard flung to the breeze—something around which to rally. While we are about it, let's have *good stuff*. I am satisfied the best we have will do. Let a candidate take well in his own State, and he can be made popular anywhere else. If ——— *is* the thing in ———, he will certainly do elsewhere. ———, if he has not gone over the non-resistance dam, would do well—*perhaps it might save him*.[1] There are men enough if they will only stand, and they must be made to. If the thing is done judiciously and deliberately, there will be no difficulty. Provided we get *good stuff*, not much will depend upon the previous fame of our candidates—we can manufacture their notoriety as we go along. Perhaps the Society can be got to pass a resolution, asserting the propriety of an anti-slavery nomination in case Clay, Van Buren, &c., pro-slavery men, are nominated by the parties, and authorizing the Executive Committee, or *a* Committee, to call a convention expressly to nominate Presidential candidates, when there is no longer any possibility of a proper candidate being nominated by either party. This will give time for minds to *turn* and get rid of their *repugnancies*. Just about as soon as we can be sure of *good stuff* to stand the racket, our candidates should be brought before the public. We shall certainly gain more than we lose.

Benefits.

1. Something practical for every man to *do*.
2. Terror struck to the hearts of the South, from Clay downwards.
3. Concert of action—iron sharpening iron.
4. Leaving non-resistance abolitionism *hors du combat*.

[What will our "ninety-nine hundredths" do? Vote for Clay, Van Buren, ———, or Scattering, or Nobody?]

5. Politics ennobled—glorious object—clean skirts.
6. Interest, discussion and liberality increased a hundred fold—the matter being carried *home* to everybody.

[1] That this was understood to refer to Gerrit Smith, appears from a sentence in a letter from James C. Jackson to Mr. Garrison (MS. Aug. 21, 1840): "Look at . . . Gerrit Smith: he is fairly saved from the 'dam of non-resistance!'"

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7. Consistency — the jewel — the everything of such a cause as ours.

If we gain these points, what can we lose? Have we not now thoroughly tried everything short of this?

Precedents are not to be quoted against us. Anti-Masonry had not such a *quarry*. Its object slunk away from it. The enterprise was never half baked. Yet it died, not by nominating separate candidates so much as by amalgamating with existing parties. After all, it died for want of *tangible work*, more than anything else. Our cause is entirely different. But you have thought of this more than I, so no more coals to Newcastle. I throw in my mite.

One thing *I know*. Unless you do take such a step, OUR NEW ORGANIZATION HERE IS A GONE CASE. It has been, *inter nos*, SHOCKINGLY MISMANAGED. Everything has been made to turn upon the *woman question*. The political has been left to fall out of sight. In our State politics, the Temperance question is so fairly on the ground that we have not room to stand.

It won't do for *us* to start the national politics. But if the *Parent Society* does so, and not by *our* move — then we can take hold with *all our might*, the non-resistants will have to be out upon us under true flag — the *confounded* woman question[1] will be forgotten — and we shall take a *living* position. You certainly see this. Take my solemn assurance that IT IS LIFE AND DEATH WITH US. Make the move, and *we will follow and live*. — How have I wished, since this shattered right fist has failed me, for *voice*, and brains to match. But *you* can do it. For the love of heaven and earth, DO IT, and write me the earliest word.

In everything but *heart*, I am a cipher in this cause. But I don't occupy the place of a better man, *to his exclusion*. When he comes, I'm off. I shall do what I can! Dear Stanton, if the Society will cross the Rubicon, (if they knew it they have crossed it already), I will answer with my head for their

[1] "The New York Board was so thoroughly imbued with Calvinistic prejudices that it came very near throwing me overboard for encouraging Angelina Grimké to *speak* as well as write. It was the controversy on that point that led me to transfer all the reverence or respect I ever had for Paul to Hypatia, who sacrificed a far nobler life for humanity some centuries later — murdered by the very monkery which grew out of Paul's doctrine about woman" (MS. April 15, 1881, Elizur Wright to Oliver Johnson).

success. The line forms on the other side — whoever don't report himself there, will be out of the victory.

Thine from the bottom,

E. WRIGHT, JR.

This candid utterance produced the sensation, in both camps, which Mr. Garrison anticipated, and proved an invaluable weapon in his hands. In the meantime, however, a local anti-slavery convention held on November 13 and 14, in Warsaw, Genesee County, N. Y., under the very eye and hand of Myron Holley, resolved that "every motive of duty and expediency which ought to control the action of a Christian freeman, required the abolitionists of the United States to organize an independent political party"; and proceeded to tender the nominations of President and Vice-President to James G. Birney, of New York, and Francis Julius Le Moyne,[1] of Pennsylvania. Gerrit Smith was already prepared to support the movement,[2] feeling that seven-eighths of the abolitionists of New York State were in favor of it. Goodell doubted if such were the fact, and doubted his own duty. Mr. Garrison dubbed the action "folly," and said of the nominees: "We have too much confidence in the self-respect and good sense of these gentlemen to suppose that they will countenance a movement of this kind. They will decline this nomination."

Life of M. Holley, p. 256.

Lib. 9:198.

Lib. 9:198.

Lib. 9:195.

So in fact they did — Birney (December 17, 1839) on the ground that the time was not yet ripe, and that the abolitionists would be divided; Le Moyne (December 10)

Lib. 10:6.

[1] Of French and Scotch-Irish parentage, Dr. Le Moyne was a man of exceptional force of character and public spirit: a liberal patron of the higher education, of popular libraries, of missionary work among the freedmen; a model farmer; an ardent naturalist; a skilful physician, — now most widely known as being the first to introduce "cremation" in the United States, by a bequest for building a furnace (*Washington, Pa., Reporter*, Oct. 22, 1879). His taking an adverse part in a colonization debate is noticed in the *African Repository* for June, 1834 (10:126).

[2] See his letter to Joshua Leavitt (*Lib.* 10:17), reviewing Lewis Tappan's and Gamaliel Bailey's objections, and Mr. Garrison's views as set forth in the address of the Mass. Board (*ante*, p. 311). Mr. Garrison's reply appeared in *Lib.* 10:19.

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on similar grounds of expediency, but also because "the anti-slavery reformation is emphatically a religious enterprise, and the *prominent* measures for its accomplishment ought to be of a consistent character."

Lib. 10:6.

"Now," he continued, "if we make political action so *prominent*, will there not be some ground for those who have continually an evil eye upon us, to charge that we have lost our first confidence in strict moral means, and that we are now compelled to resort to means which we at first overlooked, if not repudiated? I fear that some, who have labored earnestly and zealously with the first weapons of our warfare, are becoming somewhat impatient of the delay which *seems* to attend their use; and believe, very sincerely, no doubt, that the great desideratum would be sooner attained by carrying the issue of the cause directly to the polls. If so, we ought to possess ourselves in patience, recollecting that national reformations from national sins are not the work of a day, or of a year. Men are readily tempted to the use of what appear direct means, through political action, to obtain moral reformation, from witnessing the rapid revolutions of feeling and action among large masses of men in relation to mere questions of human expediency. If we are liable to err from such influences, will it not, at least, be safe to wait still longer for an answer to our prayers, and for the promised fruits of the seed of truth, which we have sown in the hearts and consciences of this people, resting assured that we shall reap in *due* season if we faint not?"

The nomination came to Mr. Birney, and had to be refused, at a time when his official position in the American Society had become far from pleasant. On November 7, 1839, the Executive Committee resolved to recall their agents in the field unless they could earn their own salaries by their collections; and this decision was communicated in a circular letter sent out the next day by Mr. Birney, as Corresponding Secretary. The low treasury, he explained, was partly owing to the general financial embarrassment of the country, partly to the working of the Society's prohibition against sending agents into any State without the permission of the State Society. Ten thousand dollars had been received during

MS. Nov. 8, 1839.

Ante, pp. 261, 298.

the last fiscal year from Massachusetts; thus far, in the new year, not eight hundred dollars.

The Committee, in their distress, appealed through Birney and Stanton to the Massachusetts Board for succor, or for the requisite permission to send agents into their territory. This appeal was met by a review of the past unhandsome behavior of the Committee towards the Massachusetts Society, and their complicity with a hostile organization; and the final answer, subscribed with the names of Francis Jackson, President, and W. L. Garrison, Corresponding Secretary, was, that the Massachusetts treasury had been exhausted in self-protection, and to give now to the Parent Society would be to risk paying for fresh attacks on itself. "Justice to the Society which we represent, and to the cause we espouse, forbids our compliance with their request that the financial agents of the Parent Society may come into this State at the present time." In other words, the Board could no longer negotiate with, or cheerfully raise funds for, an Executive Committee of whom it had to be said that there was "growing distrust in their clear-sightedness, sound judgment, rigid impartiality, and anti-sectarian spirit." The Committee, in despair, called a special meeting of the American Society to meet in New York on January 15, 1840.[1]

Lib. 10:25.

Lib. 9:207.

In the midst of dissensions in which he had himself taken part against his disciple, Benjamin Lundy passed away in Lowell, La Salle County, Illinois, on August 22, 1839. News travelled slowly from that distant State, and so it happened that in the issue of the *Liberator* on the very day following his death, Mr. Garrison had to notice that "our veteran coadjutor in the cause of emancipation (of whom we have always spoken in affectionate and grateful terms, but whose disposition, we have long since had reason to know, is very much altered towards us) is out upon us, in the *Genius of Emancipation*, in

Life, *p.* 305.

Ante, *p.* 186.

Lib. 9:135, 136.

[1] It proved to be a complete failure, being almost purely local in its attendance (*Lib.* 10:19).

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language by no means creditable to his head or heart." The *Liberator's* course was "erratic and dogmatical"; its editorial conduct "whimsical and unreflecting"; and to Mr. Garrison's "arrogance" a large portion of the elder Society was subservient. The establishment of the *Massachusetts Abolitionist* gave Lundy peculiar satisfaction, as he could not bear "the absurd theories and vagaries of W. L. Garrison and H. C. Wright," which they "force . . . into the anti-slavery controversy."

Lib. 9:135.

"The solution of this attack upon us is told in a very few words. Friend Lundy has suffered a jealous and envious spirit, we fear, to take possession of his breast; which has manifested itself, more or less, for several years past. At the time he was prosecuting his scheme for colonizing in Texas a portion of the free colored population of the country, we ventured to express in the *Liberator* our doubts as to its utility and success:[1] at the same time warmly commending him for his labors, and doing ample justice to the benevolence of his motives. This elicited from him a letter to us, dated at Natchez,[2] which was filled with abusive and insulting language, but which we suppressed in kindness to him, and to which we should not have alluded, had not necessity been laid upon us by this fresh attack. The truth is, Friend Lundy has a very irritable disposition, which is easily roused; and he finds it impossible to forgive us for venturing to question the propriety of his colonization scheme. To show that his panegyric upon the *Abolitionist* and the new organization is not of much value, we need only to state, that he took sides with the Clerical Appeal, in his paper at Philadelphia!"[3]

Lib. 5:71.

Lib. 5:95.

[1] "We ask, in relation to it,—so far, at least, as the abolition cause is concerned,—*Cui bono?*" (*Lib.* 5:71).

[2] An error for Nashville (see *Lib.* 5.95).

[3] Under date of Nov. 13, 1837, C. C. Burleigh writes from Philadelphia to J. M. McKim (MS.): "Before you get this you will probably have seen the *National Enquirer* of last Thursday [Nov. 9], containing the attack on Garrison by Lundy. It creates no small stir and excitement among our good folks in and about the city. The Delaware Co. people are quite 'up in arms' about it, and declare that unless the paper recedes from its position, they will withdraw entirely their support from it. The Philadelphia city and county society are agitating the subject, and unless some measures are taken, either by Lundy or the Executive Committee, to change the attitude of the *Enquirer*, they will probably pass a set of resolutions condemning the course of the paper, and will perhaps cut entirely loose from it—or, if the Society

But now in September came at last the tidings that Lundy had fallen; and Mr. Garrison, "consigning to oblivion the memory of whatever may have recently escaped from his [Lundy's] pen or lips, through the sudden irritability of a sanguine temperament, having an invidious bearing towards myself," bestowed a heartfelt tribute on "the pioneer"—pioneer not less because "circumstances had conspired to throw him somewhat into the shade, and to make me conspicuous in the eyes of the nation." To a sketch of Lundy's career, an excellent characterization of the man, high appreciation of his services in staving off the annexation of Texas, and a just explanation of his failure as a consequence of his not insisting on *immediate* emancipation, was of course added the sincerest acknowledgment of personal indebtedness. The sonnet of 1831 was quoted again, and a new one (not a better) composed by way of epitaph. Mr. Garrison expressed his desire to carry out a promise made to Lundy in Baltimore, to write his biography in case he survived;[1] and this promise he would no doubt have kept as a peculiar duty, if Lundy's relatives had been favorably disposed.[2] Meantime, the

Lib. 9:151.

Ante, 1:153; 2:196, 197.

Ante, 1:272.

does not, a majority of its members probably will. There seems to be an almost unanimous condemnation of Lundy's act," etc. The *Enquirer* was founded by Lundy on Aug. 3, 1836; and on Mar. 18, 1837, the Pennsylvania A. S. Society made itself pecuniarily responsible for it. Lundy gave way to Whittier on March 9, 1838 ('Life of Lundy,' pp. 289, 293, 301).

[1] Lundy had made a similar engagement, of a mutual kind, with his friend Thomas Hoge, of Nashville, whose death was announced to him in April, 1835, when nearing Natchez ('Life,' p. 178).

[2] As it was, they chose Thomas Earle, whose very inadequate and inaccurate performance — the only Life of Lundy yet written — was published in Philadelphia in 1847. The suggestion of the *Emancipator*, that any materials for the purpose should be sent to Mr. Garrison (*Lib.* 9:206), was speedily superseded by Joseph Lundy, the father's, call for aid of this kind (*Lib.* 10:23), and his curious letter of Jan. 16, 1840, to Mr. Garrison, intimating the family distrust of the latter as an impartial biographer (*Lib.* 10:46). "Whatever else we may lack," replied Mr. Garrison, "we hope that we are not destitute of magnanimity." While this letter was on its way to him, he presented the following resolution at the eighth annual meeting of the Mass. A. S. Society, on Jan. 22, 1840: "Resolved, That the cause of emancipation has met with a severe bereavement in the death of Benjamin Lundy, one of the earliest, the most self-sacrificing and dauntless advocates

Lib. 9:175. colored people of Boston asked him to deliver a eulogy upon Lundy.

The political tendencies of the year 1839, outside of the anti-slavery organization, were reactionary, as was *Lib.* 9:43. to be expected on the eve of presidential nominations. To the clear-sighted, the action of the Massachusetts Legislature (the highest example of the fruits of anti- *Lib.* 9:39, 41, 43. slavery endeavor) in refusing to repeal the law against mixed marriages, and to confirm its former manly resolutions on the abolition of slavery in the District, was prophetic of the fate of a third party such as Stewart, Holley, and Stanton were anxious to create. All standards were lowered to conciliate votes. John Quincy Adams (certainly not from ambitious motives) also disappointed once more his best friends. True, on January 7, 1839, in the House of Representatives —

Diary, Vol. 10. "I was about an hour and a half in delivering all my petitions. There was one from William Lloyd Garrison and sundry inhabitants of Boston, praying for the removal of the seat of government to some place, north of the Potomac, where the Declaration of Independence is not considered as a mere rhetorical flourish. I alluded to a petition from the inhabitants of Georgetown, presented at the last session, praying to be re-ceded to the State of Maryland, and moved that Garrison's petition should be referred to a select committee, with instructions to enquire and report to the House their opinion of the constitutional power of Congress to remove the seat of government, and to re-cede to the States of Virginia and Maryland their respective portions of the territory of the District. I said it was a grave and serious question, and, if Congress had the power, this petition was an offer of compromise, as a substitute for the abolition of slavery in the

of the rights of man and the claims of bleeding humanity; that his memory should be honored to the latest posterity; that to no man is the country so deeply indebted for the mighty impulse it has received on the subject of abolition, as the first cause of all protracted effort for the overthrow of slavery; that among all the biographies of eminent philanthropists, his own will be among the most interesting and valuable to succeeding generations." This was unanimously adopted as the sense of the Society (*Lib.* 10:18). See Mr. Garrison's biographical sketch of Lundy in Johnson's 'Universal Cyclopædia,' Vol. 3.

District, which deserved to be considered. But they laid the petition on the table."

Mr. Adams would have favored removal, but doubted its constitutionality, and on the other hand remained unconvinced by the arguments of the abolitionists as to immediate emancipation in the District, and gave warning that he should vote against it. Their petitions for the removal of the gag would receive his support. But, commented Mr. Garrison, "the loss of the right of petition is merely a consequence growing out of the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia. Mr. Adams has been zealous in protesting against an EFFECT, and yet declares that he is resolved not to strike at the CAUSE!"[1] This position the ex-President had early assumed, but time had not wrought in him that change which abolitionists had fondly looked for. They were still more surprised when he asked leave (which was refused) to offer a joint resolution providing that after July 4, 1842, hereditary slavery should cease in the United States, and all slavery and the slave trade in the District, and no slave State be admitted except Florida. This proposal fell as still-born in the country at large as in the House, showing that as regards fitness and practicability it had no advantage over immediatism.[2] Mr. Garrison made Mr. Adams's vagaries the subject of a Fourth of July discourse at South Scituate before the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society. Still, the "old man eloquent" established abundant claims upon the gratitude of the abolitionists by his unrelaxed efforts to recover their right of petition, by his support of the

Lib. 9:21.

Lib. 9:18.

Ante, 1:264.

Lib. 9:45.

Lib. 9:74.

Lib. 9:113, *and pamphlet.*

Lib. 9:3.

[1] A formal letter to Mr. Adams on this subject, in *Lib.* 9:23, is a good specimen of Mr. Garrison's style and reasoning.

[2] It was not its source that condemned Mr. Adams's proposition in Southern eyes. Witness the abortive gradual-emancipation bill introduced, in 1832, in the United States Senate, by John Tyler, of Virginia, a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia. This forbade bringing into the District slaves born out of the United States, or convicted of crime and sentenced to deportation, or for sale ('Letters and Times of John Tyler,' 1:570). Tyler was a leading colonizationist.

recognition of Hayti, and especially by opposing the
Lib. 10:1. delivery of the captives of the *Amistad*[1] to Spain as "merchandise" found with pirates.

The first number of the *Non-Resistant* was issued amid the uproar caused by the explosion of Mr. Garrison's New-Organization counter-mine in January. It was a small folio of four columns to the page, these being the same in width as the *Liberator's* columns, to permit interchangeability of matter.[2] It bore for its motto, "Resist Not Evil.—*Jesus Christ.*" The editorial committee consisted of Mr. Garrison, Mrs. Chapman, and Mr.
Lib. 11:99. Quincy; the former's services being nominal, and the two latter assuming the chief burden of writing, in which they were assisted by Charles K. Whipple, the Treasurer of the New England Non-Resistance Society, and by H. C. Wright. Mr. Wright was the sole missionary kept in the field, and his instructions had a pointed reference to
Ante, p. 159. his sectarian dismissal by the New York Executive Committee.

Non-Resistant, 1:[11]. "We know," so ran his commission as General Agent, "that you are an advocate of temperance, of purity,[3] and of abolition, and warmly attached to a particular system of doctrines. By acting for the Non-Resistance Society you fall under no obligations to silence on these or any other subjects. We should be ignorant indeed of morals, not to have learned that every

[1] A vessel proceeding from Havana to Principe, with forty-nine slaves fresh from Africa, towards the end of June, 1839. Under Joseph Cinques, the slaves rose when four days out, and, having killed the captain and cook, gained possession of the vessel. After weeks of drifting, they were found off the coast of Long Island by the revenue cutter *Washington*, and brought into New London, on Aug. 29. The case, which was eventually tried before Andrew T. Judson, excited extraordinary interest, and Joshua Leavitt and Lewis Tappan were conspicuous in befriending the captives (*Lib.* 9:143, 146, 155, 166, 193, 194; 10:1, 10, 11, 13, etc.; 11:11, 14, etc., 54, 57, 62, 194). Judge Judson decreed the return of the mutineers to their native country by the U. S. Government (*Lib.* 10:13).

[2] The size of the printed page was about 10½ by 16½ inches. There was no pagination, whence the bracketing of our marginal references. The publication was on the first and third Saturday of each month.

[3] This term signified what was also known as "moral reform," or the highly unpopular movement against the social evil (see chap. 7 of the 'Life of Arthur Tappan'; *Lib.* 5:166, etc.)

truth strengthens and forms a part of every other truth; and that a predetermined, systematic separation of one from the rest is destructive to its efficacy. . . . Your illustrations, to have any power on the minds of men, must spring freely up out of the deep grounds of your own spirit. . . . If we expect the larger part of your time, as our Agent, to be devoted to the preaching of non-resistance solely, it is on the principle of the utility of division of labor, and not on that of exclusive intolerance or time-serving expediency."

The success of the paper exceeded the very moderate expectations of those who had launched it. Gerrit Smith sent it one hundred dollars, and took the risk of being pronounced in consequence a "recreant abolitionist." On the other hand, Arthur Tappan, less magnanimous or more sectarian, returned the specimen copy sent him — a solitary distinction. He refused to be "instrumental in disseminating non-government sentiments."

Non-Resistant, 1: [35], [67].

Lib. 9: 51.

Non-Resistant, 1: [7].

Ibid., 1: [19].

Three meetings of the Non-Resistance Society were held on May 29 and 30 in the Chardon-Street Chapel, during "anniversary week." Greater interest, however, attached to the first annual meeting held at the same place on September 25–27, at which pains were taken to secure a very large attendance,[1] and which "more than fulfilled the warmest expectations of the friends of the cause." Not New England alone, but other States sent representatives. From Pennsylvania, Lucretia Mott, from Ohio, Amos Dresser,[2] was conspicuous. From New Hampshire came Stephen S. Foster. The business committee consisted of S. J. May, E. Quincy, H. C. Wright, W. L. Garrison, Lucretia Mott, Maria W. Chapman, Lydia Maria Child, Thankful Southwick, and Adin Ballou.[3]

Lib. 9: 101; *Non-Resistant*, 1: [46].

Lib. 9: 159.

Lib. 9: 164.

[1] The circular letter of invitation was signed by Edmund Quincy, Thankful Southwick, and Joshua V. Himes.

[2] A Lane Seminary student, with T. D. Weld, H. B. Stanton, James A. Thome and the other seceders *(ante*, 1: 454); flogged on his bare back at Nashville, and driven from the city, in August, 1835, for having copies of anti-slavery publications among the stock of Bibles he was engaged in selling *(Lib.* 5: 156, and 'Life of Lundy,' p. 277).

[3] A Universalist clergyman, leader at Mendon, Mass., of that wing of the denomination known as "Restorationists" (the same to which A. St. Clair

Lib. 9: 159, 164, 176; *Non-Resistant*, 1: [73], [80], [81].

Effingham Capron was in the chair. Of the proceedings there is little need to say much here, further than that Mr. Garrison read the annual report — his own. The most notable immediate effect of the convention was Quincy's renunciation of oaths and allegiance to all man-made government, signalized the morning afterwards by his returning his commission as justice of the peace to Governor Everett. The most notable resolution adopted was one declaring that "the abolition of slavery is involved in the doctrines of Non-Resistance, as the unit is included within the aggregate: for if a slaveholder [should] become non-resistant he could never again *strike* a slave, never *compel* him to labor; never reclaim him if he chose to leave him; in a word, never resort to that law of violence in which the relation of master and slave originated, and by which it must be continually sustained."

Sept. 28, 1839. *Lib.* 9: 163.

Lib. 9: [176].

W. L. Garrison to G. W. Benson.

MS.

BOSTON, Sept. 30, 1839.

Our Non-Resistance Convention is over, and the peace and blessing of heaven have attended our deliberations. Such a mass of free mind as was brought together I have never seen before in any one assembly. "Not many mighty," "not many rich," "not many honorable," were found among us — of course; but there was much talent, and a great deal of *soul*. Not a single *set* speech was made by any one, but every one spoke in a familiar manner, just as though we constituted but a mere social party. In the course of the discussion, considerable light was thrown upon some obscure points, and many difficulties were removed from inquiring minds. The resolutions that were adopted were of the most radical and "ultra" stamp, and will create, I think, no little agitation in community. Bro. Wright held two public discussions with Colver, and acquitted himself very well, though he does not shine as a debater. Colver fairly unmasked himself, and showed that he was possessed of a devilish spirit. Gurley never more shame-

H. C. Wright. Nath'l Colver.

R. R. Gurley.

had belonged[1]: two years later, one of the founders of the Hopedale Community. *Non-Resistant*, 1: [38]; Noyes's 'American Socialisms,' p. 120; *Lib.* 11: 33.

fully calumniated abolitionists than C. did the non-resistants. He accused them of being nondescripts, infidels, jacobins, atheists, outlaws, &c.; of seeking to destroy the church; of stabbing the hands that protected them; of abusing their benefactors; of reproaching the memories of the Revolutionary patriots. I was shocked to hear such things from his lips, for they were exactly calculated to stir up a mob. He is really mad against us. The Lord have mercy upon him. Phelps lent him what assistance he could. You will see an account of the discussion in the *Non-Resistant*. . . .

A. A. Phelps.

Non-Resistant, 1: [77].

To-day and to-morrow we shall be busily engaged in moving to Cambridgeport, about two miles from the city. I have taken a house on lease for two years, at $250 per annum. It is not a *roomy* house, but very neat in its appearance. It is on the corner of Broadway and Elm Street.[1] The omnibus goes in and comes out every half hour, and will leave any one at our door. Bro. Johnson and wife are to board with us. At present, I am greatly embarrassed for the want of money. I have so many articles of household furniture to buy — carpets, chairs, kitchen furniture, stoves, grates, etc.,— as to make a pretty considerable sum. There is due me on my editorial salary nearly $150, and also some from the Mass. A. S. Society; but we are all out of funds, and I must wait awhile until money can be collected. I have had to pay for bro. James, in order to get him released from the Navy-Yard, over $40, as security; and this helps to cripple me. I do not wish to run in debt to A. B. & C. for my household articles, and therefore need the cash to pay for them. This forenoon, I have borrowed $100 from Philbrick, and $100 from Francis Jackson, to enable me to make my purchases; promising to return it, if practicable, in all this week. They will expect me to fulfil my word. My object in writing to you is to know whether you can borrow that amount for me, so as to give me more time to "turn myself." . . .

Oliver Johnson.

James H. Garrison.

Samuel Philbrick.

Bro. James is slowly improving in health, but his case is a bad one. He has already taken three courses of the Thomsonian medicine, and will continue to take them until he is cured. I shall write to the Secretary of the Navy, at Washington, to see if I can get him discharged.[2]

[1] The northwest corner. The house was a double one, Mr. Garrison and his family occupying the true corner.

[2] James Garrison's constitution was so undermined by hardships and excesses that there could be no object in retaining him in the service. On

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Lib. 9:91.

The scheme for the financial control of the *Liberator* had on the whole worked well. At the close of May, immediately after the New England anniversary, a second meeting of the friends of the paper was held in Chardon-Street Chapel, with Samuel Fessenden in the chair. Its qualities were once more rehearsed in flattering but truthful terms, the charges against it refuted, and subscriptions made for its support. Henry C. Wright spoke to its alleged "infidelity": "If to quote the Bible almost every other sentence — if to fashion a man's style of writing after the Bible — if to refer to the Bible perpetually, constitutes infidelity, then is Wm. Lloyd Garrison an infidel, and the *Liberator* an infidel paper. He [the speaker] had often challenged the opponents of the *Liberator* to show him a religious paper in the land in which there was so much of the Bible as in the *Liberator*." N. P. Rogers declared it the organ of the cause, untrammelled by any society limitations. "As Wm. Lloyd Garrison is an *historical fact* in the annals of Anti-slavery, he will be considered by enemies of the cause as the representative of abolition principles; and this without any effort or wish on his part to be a leader, or any disposition in abolitionists to be led by him." Wendell Phillips said, they might talk as they would,— if Mr. Garrison were sustained, "all the distinctive principles of the anti-slavery cause would be sustained also."

Jan. 11, 1840, Secretary Paulding wrote to Mr. Garrison (MS.): "Your letter for the discharge of your brother from on board the Rec'g ship *Columbus*, at Boston, has been received and referred to Commodore Downes, with directions to examine into his case, and, if found to correspond with your statement, he is authorized to discharge him, provided he is not in debt to the U. States." The friendly intervention of Caleb Cushing, then a member of the House of Representatives, removed the only obstacle to the desired release. On March 11, 1840, he writes to his townsman: "Receiving yours of the 6th, I have called again on the Secretary of the Navy, and he said he would reconsider the whole matter; and I think he is now satisfied that your brother's absence with you was a mere technical violation of law, and involved no injury to the service, but the contrary, and that he will give such additional orders as to close the case in the manner desired. But if otherwise, please to let me know, and I will press him further on the subject."

Both in Boston and in other places fairs were held for the express benefit of the *Liberator*, and its exigencies were not overlooked in the county society meetings. Thus, on June 13, at Topsfield, when the Essex County Society had baffled the final endeavor of its Secretary, Torrey, to commit it to the New Organization, it was ready to receive Mr. Garrison with plaudits, and to second the praise of his paper from other lips than his own. Charles Burleigh dwelt upon its free discussion. Another speaker testified to its keeping abolitionists awake and helpful. "But he liked the *Liberator* for another reason. He liked it because it contained the archives of the abolition cause. If he wanted to get the spirit of the age on the great subject of slavery, he went to the *Liberator*."

Lib. 9: 119, 163.

Lib. 9: 99, 106.

Lib. 9: 106.

In the prospectus to the tenth volume it was possible to say that the subscription list was steadily on the increase, and was larger than ever before, notwithstanding the rivalry of the *Massachusetts Abolitionist* and the large circulation of the *Cradle of Liberty*. Knapp, it was presently announced, had relinquished his interest in the paper, "receiving therefor a certain consideration." His habits had made this step absolutely necessary.

Lib. 9: 203.

Lib. 10: 2.

"A committee," wrote Mr. Garrison to Elizabeth Pease, reviewing his whole connection with his old partner, "was appointed to confer with Mr. Knapp, in order to effect the desired arrangement in an amicable and equitable manner. This he entered into with much reluctance, of course. As a matter of experiment, it was agreed that he should waive all right and title to any part of the *Liberator* for the term of two years — he being paid such remuneration as impartial referees might feel disposed to award. It was further agreed that, during this period, the pecuniary concerns of the paper should be managed by a responsible committee, in whom its friends could feel the utmost confidence; and, consequently, the present committee[1] kindly consented to act in this capacity — to the universal gratification of the friends of the *Liberator*.

MS. May 15, 1842.

"When the question of remuneration was submitted to the referees, (who were all quite friendly to Mr. Knapp), they

[1] Messrs. Jackson, Loring, Quincy, Philbrick, and Bassett (*Lib.* 9: 203).

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summoned a number of practical printers as witnesses to determine the amount that ought to be awarded to Mr. Knapp. On being asked, of what pecuniary value a newspaper could be which sunk one or two thousand dollars per annum over and above its receipts, they, of course, said, none whatever. Two things were essential to the continuance of the *Liberator:* first, that I should be connected with it as editor; and, secondly, that its pecuniary affairs should be so managed as to inspire confidence among its benefactors and friends; and neither of these could be done on the old plan. As a matter of kindness and good-will, rather than of equity, the referees decided that I should pay Mr. Knapp $150 — half of it to be paid yearly. This decision was cheerfully met on my part.

"To say that I separated from my friend Knapp with great reluctance and pain of mind — that I exerted myself to the utmost to retain him as printer of the *Liberator* — that I greatly compassionated his forlorn condition, and did everything in his behalf that friendship and sympathy could suggest — is simply to assert the truth, which all my friends in this quarter know full well. But *the existence of the Liberator depended upon this new arrangement;* and justice to those who had to sustain it required that it should be made.

"This arrangement was to expire in two years by its own limitation — that is, on the first day of January, 1842."

Mr. Garrison's contemporary account differs slightly from the foregoing in respect to the amount of the pecuniary award. On January 4, 1840, he writes to G. W. Benson:

MS.

"After a great deal of trouble, we have finally got our arrangements made with friend Knapp. The committee of reference awarded him $175 — being $125 less than was pro-

E.G.Loring.

posed to him in the conference of friends at Loring's office. He is in a very miserable state of mind, and very much embittered in his feelings, I am sorry to say, toward us all, and myself in particular. I have scarcely had any conversation with him, on this account. You will be glad to perceive that Loring

S.Philbrick.

and Philbrick are added to the committee of finance for the *Liberator* — making a very respectable and solid committee. It is of great service to the paper to have such men act in such a capacity. The prospect before us is fair, and full of encouragement."

CHAPTER VI.

THE SCHISM.—1840.

THE sectarian reaction against the moral leadership of Mr. Garrison, as an abolitionist, culminated in the year upon which we now enter. So far as it took the phase of a Third Party movement, it was aided by the unparalleled excitement of the Presidential campaign which ended in the election of General Harrison. Under the guise of "New Organization" (whose clerical origin must ever be kept in view) it fell in with the pro-slavery mastery of the leading denominations, notably the Methodist and the Presbyterian. Hence, the resolutions in which the great majority of the abolitionists expressed their sentiments during 1840, were directed against the formation of a political anti-slavery party; against giving support at the polls to either Harrison or Van Buren (on the ground of their notorious subserviency to slavery); against the exclusive and oligarchical spirit of the seceders from the old organization; and against churches either silent towards or in active fellowship with slaveholders.

The common action and identity of interest between New Organization and Third Party have already appeared in this narrative, and will be more and more conspicuous as we proceed. Mr. Garrison's opposition to the latter will be understood only by bearing in mind the facts: (1) that Holley, Stewart, Birney and Gerrit Smith proposed to convert the existing anti-slavery (immediate-emancipation) organization into a political

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machine — in other words, to substitute one mode of action for another; (2) that they expected to do this without subtracting from the existing constitutions of the national and subsidiary societies — in other words, without lowering the standard of anti-slavery aims and demands. Holding firmly to this clew, the reader will not be misled into thinking the case the same as if a body of men, not members of any abolition society, nor ready to become such because not satisfied with purely religious modes of agitation and achievement, but accustomed to vote with either the Whig or the Democratic party, had decided to form a new party having slavery for its main issue. Such an organization would have been judged by Mr. Garrison according to its performances, but would never have been regarded otherwise than as an encouraging sign of the times.

The abundant private correspondence of this year will enable us to present the story largely in the words of the chief actors. Let us begin with an extract from a letter of Mr. Garrison's to G. W. Benson, dated Boston, January 4, 1840:

MS.

Edmund Quincy.

"How sorry I am to say that it will be utterly out of my power to be with you at Hartford on the 8th inst. But what I cannot do, I cannot. I know how great will be the disappointment of the Connecticut friends — your own — and all the household at Brooklyn. And, what is worse, Quincy tells me that he will not be able to go. He made the attempt before[1] — got half-way, or part way — was forced to stay in the cars all night, and then return home, in consequence of the storm. The annual meeting of our State Society takes place on the 22d. With a thousand other things I have to do between that brief space and this, I have the Annual Report to write, reviewing the events of the past year — which must, of necessity, be a very long and elaborate document. O, I groan to think of it! Not a syllable of it is yet prepared — nor can I get one hour to devote to it; and yet it *must* be all written

[1] The meeting was originally appointed for Dec. 18, 1839, and actually met on that date, Birney being present. A resolution against Third Party was laid on the table, and the meeting adjourned on account of the weather (*Lib.* 9:206; 10:2).

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before the meeting. Dear George, you see how I am situated: therefore, apologize for my absence to the friends at Hartford. If I can possibly get time, I mean to write a letter to Cowles, to be read at the meeting — but it is doubtful whether I shall succeed. I will do the best I can, and who can do more? Do not fail to be at the meeting yourself, and save Connecticut abolitionism from the political gulf which yawns to devour. And by all means be at our annual meeting on the 22d, if possible: we shall need your presence on many accounts."

S. S. Cowles, Sec. Conn. A. S. S.

Somehow Mr. Garrison contrived to write his report in time to be partly read, and to be cordially received. *Lib.* 10:18. It embodied a letter of the Massachusetts Board, dated *Lib.* 10:25. December 6, 1839, declining to come to the aid of the New York Executive Committee in its financial strait. The Society endorsed this refusal, and further declined to accept the Massachusetts apportionment made at the futile meeting of January 15, 1840, towards covering the *Ante, p.* 321. Committee's liabilities.

If the resolutions on the death of Lundy and the *Ante, p.* 323. awful destruction of Dr. Charles Follen[1] gave a peculiar solemnity to the occasion, those which welcomed back the penitent author of the following letter (it was Mr. Garrison himself who reported them) inspired a cheerful thanksgiving. Its recipient had read it "with a *Lib.* 10:15. thrill of sacred joy":

Rev. Charles Fitch to W. L. Garrison.

NEWARK, Jan. 9, 1840. *Lib.* 10:15.

DEAR SIR: Herewith I attempt the discharge of a duty to which I doubt not that I am led by the dictates of an enlightened conscience, and by the influences of the Spirit of God. I have been led, of late, to look over my past life, and to inquire what I would think of past feelings and actions, were I to behold JESUS CHRIST in the clouds of heaven, coming to judge the world, and to establish His reign of holiness and righteousness and blessedness over the pure in heart. From such an

[1] By fire in the steamboat *Lexington*, on the passage from New York to Stonington, on the night of Jan. 13–14, 1840 (*Lib.* 10:15, 18, 20; see also, 10:59, 63, 67, 97, and p. 357 of Hudson's 'History of Lexington').

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examination of my past life, I find very much, even in what I have regarded as my best actions, deeply to deplore; but especially do I find occasion for shame and self-loathing and deep humiliation before God and man, when I see in what multiplied instances the ruling motive of my conduct has been a desire to please men, for the sake of their good opinion. In seeking the promotion of good objects, I have often acted with this in view; but I feel bound in duty to say to you, sir, that to gain the good-will of man was the only object I had in view, in everything which I did relative to certain writings called "Clerical Appeal." I cannot say that I was conscious at the time, certainly not as fully as I am now, that this was the motive by which I was actuated; but as I now look back upon it, in the light in which it has of late been spread before my own mind, as I doubt not by the Spirit of God, I can clearly see that, in all that matter, I had no true regard for the glory of God or the good of man. I can see nothing better in it than a selfish and most wicked desire to gain thereby the good opinion of such men as I supposed would be pleased by such movements; while I can clearly see that I did not consult the will of God or the good of my fellow-men, in the least, and did indulge toward yourself and others, and toward principles which I now see to be according to truth, feelings which both my conscience and my heart now condemn, which I know a holy God never can approve, and which I *rejoice* to think He never will approve.

I send you this communication because my conscience and my heart lead me to do it; because I think the truth and the Spirit of God approve it, and influence me to do it; and not because I expect or wish thereby to secure the applause of man, or even to regain any good-will of man which I may have lost by actions which I now wholly disapprove. I trust I have learned higher principles of action; at least, I know I must learn them, or be in fearful circumstances in that day when "every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit must be hewn down and cast into the fire."

The acknowledgment which I now make, I expect to approve when I appear before God with my final account; and this is reason enough to induce me to make it. I believe it is according to the will of God, and that will I fully approve.

You are at liberty, sir, to do with it what you please. If God can be honored and good done thereby, I would like that the confession I make be as public as the sin I committed. I

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believe that I should do what I now have done, if I knew I should be despised for it by the whole world. There is One by me who searches my heart, and there is a judgment-seat before me where I must stand. There is, also, a despised, cast-out, and crucified Saviour, who was none other than "God manifest in the flesh," whom I wish to please and honor. If you can make any use of this communication that you think will be an honor to Him, or a service to the cause of truth, dispose of it at your pleasure.

The Lord strengthen you to do His will.

CHARLES FITCH.

The resolutions on the church to which the Massachusetts Society gave its assent at its annual meeting, were from Mr. Garrison's hand. They contained no doctrine that was not published by him at the very inception of his anti-slavery labors; but they may be quoted as a type of formal anti-slavery utterance on this subject during the year — and as a progressive example of the grounds of clerical hostility to their author:

"Resolved, That no man who apologizes for slavery, or refuses to bear an open and faithful pulpit testimony against it, or who neglects to exert his moral and official influence in favor of the cause of human freedom and of the rights of his enslaved fellow-men, can have the least claim to be regarded as a minister of Him who came to preach deliverance to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; and that for abolitionists to recognize such men as ministers of Christ, or to aid in supporting them as such, is as inconsistent with their principles, and must be as displeasing to God, as it would be for them to support in that capacity a slaveholder, or an open defender of slavery. *Lib.* 10:34.

"Resolved, That no association of men can have any just claim to be considered a Church of Jesus Christ which withholds its sympathy and aid from the oppressed, or which either refuses or neglects to bear its testimony against the awful sin of slavery; and that abolitionists are bound by the holy principles they profess, and by their regard for the rights of their enslaved and imbruted fellow-men, to withhold their support from such associations, and to endeavor to bring the members of them to repentance for the sin of stopping their ears at the cry of the poor."

Lib. 10:46, 47. At Lynn, on March 10 and 11, 1840, before a large and enthusiastic assembly gathered in quarterly meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society, Mr. Garrison shaped kindred resolutions more pointedly, affirming "that the indifference or open hostility to anti-slavery principles and measures of most of the *so-called* religious sects, and a great majority of the clergy of the country, constitutes THE MAIN OBSTRUCTION to the progress of our cause." And for the special reproof of the Quaker community of which Lynn was the seat, he offered, with the necessary exceptions in favor of individuals, the following:

Life of J. and L. Mott, p. 141.

Lib. 10:46. "Resolved, That the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS,— by shutting its meeting-houses against the advocates of the slave, and by its unchristian attempts to restrain the freedom of such of its members as are abolitionists — has forfeited all claims to be regarded as an anti-slavery society, and practically identified itself with the corrupt pro-slavery sects of the land."[1]

Two other resolutions, bearing the stamp of the editor of the *Liberator*, and anticipating Mr. Seward's famous dictum as to an "irrepressible conflict," were also adopted at Lynn, in these words:

Lib. 10:46. "Resolved, That Freedom and Slavery are natural and irreconcilable enemies; that it is morally impossible for them to endure together in the same nation; and that the existence of the one can only be secured by the destruction of the other.

"Resolved, That slavery has exercised a pernicious and most dangerous influence in the affairs of this Union, from its foundation to the present time;[2] that this influence has increased, is increasing, and cannot be destroyed, except by the destruction of slavery or the Union."

[1] See Mr. Garrison's twelve charges in support of this resolution (*Lib.* 10:47). The organs, speaking phrenologically, of modern Quakerism in our country, he found to be "approbativeness, cautiousness, acquisitiveness, all uncommonly large, and exercising a predominating influence over all the other faculties."

[2] "It gave us," wrote Mr. Garrison, later in the year, "the Embargo — and how much were the interests of the North benefited by that insane act? It gave us the last war — and what did that war effect but the frightful accumulation of a national debt, which has had to be liquidated mainly at the expense of Northern industry? It gave us a national bank,

The Lynn resolutions against a Third Party found a special motive in the call for another convention to nominate Presidential candidates (again at Albany) on April 1, which had emanated from an anti-slavery convention held at Arcade, N. Y., a week after the Massachusetts annual meeting. The date was obviously fixed in anticipation of the annual meeting of the American Society in New York City. The following letter reveals the struggle going on for the possession of the State anti-slavery organization, in the region inhabited by the chief promoters of the political enterprise: *Lib.* 10:31.

Henry C. Wright to George W. Benson.

CATO, CAYUGA CO., N. Y., Feb. 20, 1840. *MS.*

I am in an anti-slavery convention. All is bustle and noise around. Discussion about Ministers, Church, and politicians. Many excited. To discuss the character of political candidates seems the great object of Myron Holley, Gerrit Smith, Wm. L. Chaplin[1] and others, but the great body of the Abolitionists are sound. The State Society is defunct, because its President, Agent, and Committee are all turned politicians, and the people are determined not to be gulled into a political party. It is evident that the Committee, H. B. Stanton, Birney and others in New York are determined to organize a great political party, to regenerate the Government. They made the first onset upon Massachusetts. Defeated there, they formed a political party there — *Abolition Society*. Then they got up the Albany Convention. Defeated there, the meeting at Cleveland was called. Defeated there, they have made an onset on Western New York,[2] and are determined to convert this State Society into a political party, or have a New Organization *Ante*, *pp.* 307, 314.

and has also destroyed it — and what has been the advantage of that experiment to the free States? It gave us the tariff — and for a time succeeded in its malignant purpose of crippling the commerce and paralyzing the free labor of the North; and now it finds that Northern skill and industry have turned it to profitable account, it is for destroying the tariff. It has given us a sub-treasury — and the next thing it contemplates is the destruction of the sub-treasury" *(Lib.* 10:179).

[1] Of Farmington, N. Y., formerly of Groton, Mass.

[2] Witness the West Bloomfield convention ending Feb. 6, 1840, the Waterloo convention, on Feb. 24, and "some dozen minor county conventions," like this at Cato, in the interval *(Lib.* 10:29).

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here. They are determined to make a desperate push at the Anniversary in May. If they cannot convert the Parent Society into a political party, they will move to form another American Society, and proceed to form State societies for the purpose of nominating candidates, and urging the people to the polls to vote. Thus matters stand. A great move is to be made, under the auspices of Myron Holley and Gerrit Smith, to form a great national political party. I expect Goodell will aid them.

Now, my brother, I write this, in the midst of much agitation, to entreat you to exert all your influence in Connecticut and Rhode Island to get delegates to New York in May — men and women delegates. There is to be a desperate struggle for political power in that meeting, unless something occurs to prevent. Write to friends in Connecticut. See Thomas Davis and Wm. Chace;[1] get them to stir. The abolitionists, the working ones, in Western New York are determined to cut loose from the State Society, and form a society for Western New York. They are not willing that Myron Holley, Gerrit Smith, Wm. L. Chaplin, and Wm. Goodell should any longer be regarded as fit representatives of the abolitionism of Western New York.

I have attended six State and county conventions. Am to attend several more. I came here to lecture on *Non-Resistance*. The door is thrown wide open for me. But the friends here insist on my attending these conventions. I am brought into personal acquaintance with thousands. I have to discuss the *party* question everywhere. All *opponents* cry out against my Non-Resistance, and they bring it into every meeting. This sets the people inquiring, and they are anxious to hear for themselves. So it goes. . . .

I am just informed[2] that a convention is to be held at Albany, to organize an anti-slavery political party, and to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President. This convention, it would seem, originated with the members of the Executive Committee at New York. They have put up their

[1] Chace and Davis were brothers-in-law, and both of Providence; the latter a native of Ireland, a manufacturing jeweller, and afterwards (1853–55) a Representative in Congress. His wife was a very dear friend of Mrs. Garrison.

[2] A new letter is here begun, in a different ink, on the same sheet, probably on Feb. 21, 1840, as the letter is postmarked Feb. 22.

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tools, Myron Holley and others, to call it. So at a county convention at Arcade, near Rochester, they (Holley, Smith and Chaplin) got a resolution passed to this effect. There has been no general concert among the friends. It is to be a kind of *packed* meeting of political office-hunters calling themselves abolitionists. They make this move to be prepared for the May meeting in New York, to have *candidates* ready to present to that meeting. Thus it appears to me. I may be mistaken. *I hope I am.* But our *office-seeking* abolitionists are desperate. Gerrit Smith has lost much of his moral influence by the stand he has taken. As a non-resistant, I care not how quick such a party is formed. It must be based on the *Divinity* of the *Ballot-box*, or it is useless. Of course they will have to argue the question of the rightfulness of governments of *human will* and *human slaughter*.

The Massachusetts Board lost no time in opposing the call for the Albany Convention. As soon as Mr. Garrison could prepare an address to the abolitionists of the United States, it was promulgated. It reviewed the causes of division in the anti-slavery ranks, and the rise of the Third Party movement, in spite of its unanimous condemnation by the anti-slavery societies, State and local; pointed out the unwise and reprehensible conduct of the *Emancipator* in advocating it, and the culpable complicity of the Executive Committee by its silent approval; and called upon the various anti-slavery bodies and periodicals to give no countenance to the approaching "National Anti-Slavery Convention for Independent Nomination." The call was presumptuous and without authority. "It is evident that there is, in the western part of New York, a small but talented body of restless, ambitious men, who are determined to get up a third party, come what may — in the hope, doubtless, of being lifted by it into office." "Let the meeting be insignificant and local, and thus rendered harmless"; and let there be no more calling of national conventions by irresponsible persons. The Executive Committee, in concurrence with the State boards, should call them, through the official organ. The address closed with an

Lib. 10:35.

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appeal for an overwhelming attendance at the May meeting in New York.

This manifesto, and especially the charge of ambition and self-seeking (though these were early recognized as a probable danger to political abolitionism by Wright, Goodell, and William Jay), were feelingly retorted by Leavitt in the *Emancipator*, by Goodell in the *Friend of Man*, by Gerrit Smith — whom Mr. Garrison expressly disavowed having had in mind among the office-seekers. Though rebuked by the Executive Committee, Leavitt renewed his attack on the address and on the non-resistant abolitionists, denying the right of the Massachusetts Board to strike the keynote for abolitionists, and ridiculing Mr. Garrison as the "King of day" at Boston.

Lib. 10:35. 43. *Lib.* 10:47. 49. 51. 57. 65. *Lib.* 10:75. *Lib.* 10:47. 57.

Apr. 1, 1840. The Albany Convention mustered a hundred and twenty-one members enrolled, of whom one hundred and four were from New York State alone. Neither Pennsylvania nor Ohio — nor any more western State — was represented. Alvan Stewart presided. Torrey was one of the vice-presidents, Leavitt one of the secretaries; Holley and Elizur Wright members of the business committee, Gerrit Smith and Goodell of the committee on correspondence. "Will it be credited by the abolitionists of the United States," exclaimed Mr. Garrison, "the handful of abolitionists thus brought together had the folly, the presumption, the almost unequalled infatuation, to put candidates in nomination in their behalf for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States! — namely, James G. Birney, of Kentucky, and Thomas Earle, of Pennsylvania!"[1]

Emancipator, 4:198; *Life of Myron Holley*, p. 259. *Lib.* 10:59.

Simultaneously with this event came the intelligence that the Executive Committee was about to transfer the official organ into the hands of a private individual, though, as N. P. Rogers said, the *Emancipator* was as

Lib. 10:93.

[1] Acceptance by these candidates was delayed till after the May meeting of the American A. S. Society, when a second nominating convention was held (May 13, 14) in New York City.

clearly the property of the National Society as the *Herald of Freedom* was that of the New Hampshire Society. Against this extraordinary action the Massachusetts Society, in quarterly meeting, protested in vain. The transfer was made, before the close of April, by sale to Joshua Leavitt, on account of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society (virtually the Executive Committee itself, under another name), whose organ it quickly became. The books and other property of the Society were likewise assigned to Lewis Tappan and S. W. Benedict, to secure the Society's indebtedness, and in all but name the Society was extinct before the annual meeting — a literal clearing of the decks for action.[1]

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Lib. 10:63. *Lib.* 10:71. *Lib.* 10:75. *Lib.* 10:125.

Henry C. Wright to W. L. Garrison.

PHILADELPHIA, [May], 1840. *Postmarked May 6. MS.*

If you see fit, publish this; if not, lay it aside. In a little interview with brother Goodell, I found his mind in a most rabid state — perfectly New-Organized. He appeared a ***changed*** man. Politics have made him mad. He is nettled and stung to death by your remarks upon his inconsistency. He is determined, like E. Wright, Leavitt & Co., to lay all the opposition to the political party scheme to Non-Resistance. I would send you extracts from his writings to demonstrate his former position, but I have them not by me.

Presumably at Utica.

Lee and Leavitt are expected in Philadelphia to attend the meeting of the State Society. I rather think it will be a stormy time if they come. Whittier is here, and will be here at the meeting. . . . .

Luther Lee, J. Leavitt.

☞ *Thomas Earle* informed me and Bradburn, who is here, last night, that he should *not* accept the nomination unless they would form a democratic party. His views are most radical. He will not go with any party that will not go for *universal* suffrage; poverty and *crime* constitute no forfeiture of suf-

Geo. Bradburn.

[1] The full details of these transactions belong to a history of the anti-slavery cause. See Edmund Quincy's account in the *National A. S. Standard*, Sept. 19, Oct. 24, Nov. 7, 1844, and Joshua Leavitt's statement in *Mass. Abolitionist*, 2:112. Wendell Phillips called the transfer of the *Emancipator* "the last utter breach of faith — mere swindling" (*Lib.* 10:119).

AP. VI. frage, in his opinion. So he said last night. He goes against
840. all customs and tariffs. There is great excitement respecting the meeting in New York: generally opposed to the doings at Albany, and to all connexion of the cause with party politics. The first thing to come before that meeting will be the woman question: if possible, *women* will be excluded. Some women are expected to go as delegates from Pennsylvania. The contest will be a hard one. The Committee at New York may carry the day, through the N. Y. city members, whom they have long been drilling and stirring up for the occasion.

Much dissatisfaction is shown at their selling the *Emancipator*. Do call attention to it, and comment on it. It is a dishonest transaction — done solely to get it into Leavitt's hands, that he may control it as he pleases. The *ministers* will rally at New York to get control of the A. S. cause.

The Massachusetts Board were fully alive to the impending crisis. They had already put forth a second
. 10:66. address to the abolitionists of the United States, again from Mr. Garrison's pen. The same sectarian spirit, it said, that had sought the life of the Massachusetts Society, was now plotting the overthrow of the American. It would, at the approaching meeting, attempt to reconsider the vote of the last anniversary, by which the equal privileges of women as members were recognized; to pass resolutions enforcing the duty to vote, favoring a Third Party, and endorsing the Presidential nominations made at Albany, or at least averting condemnation of them by the auxiliary societies; to disband the Society, or effect a secession, and make the organization more narrow, under clerical control, and with proportional representation at the annual meeting; finally, to encourage the formation of sectarian societies. These were not idle imaginings. Amendments to the Constitution in conformity with the foregoing programme had
. 10:66. already been broached in the *Emancipator;* and Birney and Lewis Tappan, having been charged by the Executive Committee to propose changes in the organization,
. 10:70. recommended that the Parent Society should either "resume their whole power as to auxiliary societies —

as to territory, funds, etc.," or else disband.[1] The *Emancipator*, speaking for itself, declared bluntly: CHAP. VI. 1840.

"The true question is, whether the policy of the American Anti-Slavery Society shall be guided by its Constitution, in the hands of a committee of its own choice, responsible at its bar, and representing impartially the abolitionists of the whole land —or whether it shall be controlled *at pleasure* by a local Board, elected by a single auxiliary society, and representing a section of the abolitionists of a single State." *Lib.* 10:59.

Goodell was no less explicit, in his own paper. Abolition and Non-Resistance, he wrote, can no more walk together than can Abolition and Colonization. He predicted a strong rally at New York "of non-resistants and of whole-Whig-ticket abolitionists combined." If they should succeed in censuring and displacing the Executive Committee, it would be equivalent to a dissolution of the Society. A new spur would be given to combined political action "if the National Society should slip out of the way, or get into the hands of the friends of Harrison and the opponents of civil government." Combined ecclesiastical action would also receive a stimulus. "Or, perhaps, among the local churches and among abolitionists connected with them, the query might be revived with fresh interest, whether the Lord Jesus Christ did not institute, and does not require them to organize, Christian churches, which shall occupy and cultivate the ground attempted to be cultivated hitherto by the great reformatory and evangelizing voluntary associations of the day." "We shall be," continued Goodell, "as charitable as we can to men's *motives*, but their *anti-abolitionism* we shall steadfastly oppose, even if it shelters itself under the banners of Wm. Lloyd Garrison." And he bitterly threw off the last remnant of his old friendship for the editor of the *Liberator* in a short article entitled, "How to Make a Pope": *Lib.* 10:77. *Gen. W. H. Harrison.*

[1] James S. Gibbons, the third member of the sub-committee, a son-in-law of Isaac T. Hopper, dissented from this report (*Lib.* 10: 70, 71).

Lib. 10:77. "Take an ardent and strong-minded leader in a good but hated cause. Place him in the fires of persecution, and surround him with devoted and generous friends. Just in proportion to the frequency of his proving himself in the *right*, when almost everybody said he was *wrong*, will the conviction fasten upon his admirers that he is infallible. They will act, and perhaps speak, in conformity with their impressions. Almost of necessity, the same idea will insinuate itself imperceptibly, yet firmly, into his bosom. He soon shows that he expects to be implicitly followed, and his expectations realized. Thus it was with the bishops of Rome, and hence the rise of their exorbitant power.—*Vide* 'Natural History of Spiritual Despotism.'"

The wit of Collins found a way to forward the largest possible New England delegation to New York. On May 2, 1840, James C. Jackson wrote from New York to G. W. Benson:

MS. "J. A. Collins wishes me to say to you that he calculates on chartering the steamboat *Massachusetts* at Providence, for the purpose of carrying on our friends to the Annual Meeting of the A. A. S. Society. He wishes you to write to him immediately into what port you will have her put to take on the friends of truth from Connecticut. The fare will be cheap, and the expenses cheap.

"I need not say that the devil is arousing his myrmidons for the conflict, and that a defeat awaits us unless superior vigilance prevents. New York city, where I write this, is all alive."

Public announcement of this mode of conveyance was
Lib. 10:75. made the next week in the *Liberator*. Mammon consented, under the circumstances, to make no distinction between white and black passengers on the boat and in
Lib. 10:122. the special trains connecting with it — a prime consideration in securing the attendance of colored delegates. On Monday, May 11, the great rally began at the depot in Boston:

Lib. 10:79. "A few came from the land of 'down east,'" reported Mr. Garrison, "and from the thick-ribbed hills of the Granite State; but especially from the counties of old Essex, and Middlesex,

and Norfolk, and Plymouth, and Suffolk, in Massachusetts, they came promptly and numerously at the summons of HUMANITY, in spite of 'hard times' and the busy season of the year, to save our heaven-approved association from dissolution, and our broad platform from being destroyed. An extra train of cars had been engaged for the occasion; but so numerous was the company, another train had to be started — our numbers continually augmenting at every stopping-place between the two cities. O, it was a heart-stirring and rare spectacle — such as has never before been witnessed in the progress of our all-conquering enterprise; and many were the spectators who were looking on with wonder and surprise at such a gathering of fanaticism, and such a 'dying away' of abolitionism.

"On arriving at Providence, the company embarked on board of the steamboat *Rhode Island*, which had the American flag flying in the breeze, (the flag of LIBERTY has not yet been fashioned), a considerable number of delegates from Bristol County and from the city of Providence joining us; so that, huge and capacious as were the dimensions of our chartered boat, it was very difficult to move about with facility, notwithstanding the *accommodating* disposition of all on board. On making an enumeration, it appeared that there were about 450 anti-slavery men and women in our company, of whom about 400 were from Massachusetts.[1] (Probably another hundred went by other routes.) There never has been such a mass of '*ultraism*' afloat, in one boat, since the first victim was stolen from the fire-smitten and blood-red soil of Africa. There were persons of all ages, complexions and conditions — from our time-honored and veteran friend SETH SPRAGUE, through ripened manhood down to rosy youth. They were, indeed, the moral and religious *élite* of New England abolitionism, who have buckled on the anti-slavery armor to wear to the end of the conflict, or to the close of life. It was truly a great and joyful meeting, united together by a common bond, and partaking of *the one spirit of humanity*. Such greetings and shaking of hands! such interchanges of thoughts and opinions!

[1] Of the large body of delegates from Massachusetts, only 27, as Edmund Quincy pointed out (*Non-Resistant*, July 8, 1840), were known Non-Resistants; the remainder, of course, adhering to Mr. Garrison solely upon anti-slavery grounds, without assenting either to his views of peace or to the peculiar religious sentiments on account of which he was assailed, but with the fixed resolve to see fair play in the anti-slavery ranks. A very large proportion of them were members of orthodox churches. Seth Sprague was among the most prominent Methodist laymen in New England.

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such zeal, and disinterestedness, and faith! Verily it was good to be there! . . .

"The northeasterly storm which had lasted for several days previous, cleared up finely just as we left Providence, and a glorious sunset and a bright moonlight evening followed. All was tranquil, all happy. In the course of the evening, spirited addresses were made by Wm. M. Chace, Dr. Manford,[1] C. M. Burleigh, Samuel J. May, N. P. Rogers, and J. A. Collins, which were frequently responded to in an enthusiastic manner."

Lib. 10: 90, 122.

The muster was not confined to the friends of the old organization. The New Organizationists, too, and the New York Executive Committee did what they could to "pack"[2] the Convention. The Fourth Free Church

Lib. 10: 86.

could hardly contain the delegates alone, who numbered more than a thousand. As the President, Arthur Tap-

Lib. 10: 82.

pan, purposely absented himself, Francis Jackson, a Vice-President of the American Society, took the chair. His first duty was to appoint a business committee, and this he composed as follows, with an obviously liberal representation of Third Party and New Organization: W. L. Garrison, chairman; Ichabod Codding (Maine); Thomas Davis (Rhode Island); Rowland T. Robinson (Vermont); Amos A. Phelps, Abby Kelley (Massachusetts); William L. Chaplin, Lewis Tappan (New York); Charles C. Burleigh, Charles W. Gardiner (Pennsylvania); and Charles W. Denison (New Jersey). On Miss Kelley's confirmation by the meeting the fate of the Society depended. The viva-voce vote being ques-

Lib. 10: 86.

tioned, a count by the tellers showed a total of 1008, with about a hundred majority in her favor. The death-

[1] *Alias* John Colman. His titulary name, like his anti-slavery profession, was put on (*Lib.* 10: 111, 131, and MS. July 16, 1841, Oliver Johnson to W. L. G.)

[2] They were very sore over their failure to effect a larger rally. The Rev. Samuel May, of Leicester, Mass., one of the delegates to the Convention, wrote to Francis Jackson on May 18, 1840 (MS.): "I found a number of New Organizationists in the Norwich boat on my return; and, from conversation with them, I find that there is no accusation, however mean or flagrant, which some of them are not ready to make against the old Massachusetts Society, and the Board of Managers in particular."

Abby Kelley

knell of sectarianism had sounded. Tappan, Phelps, and Denison at once asked to be excused from serving on the committee, the first assigning as his reasons that "to put a woman on a committee with men is contrary to the Constitution of the Society; it is throwing a firebrand into the anti-slavery ranks; it is contrary to the usages of civilized society." And his clerical associates added, that it was contrary to the gospel and to their consciences. Messrs. Tappan and Denison then arose, and asked those who had voted against the appointment of women to meet and form a new society. *Lib.* 10:82. *Lib.* 10:83.

The battle being thus ended on the first day, the meeting proceeded to dispose of the pending amendments to the Constitution, which were all rejected save one, viz., that the Executive Committee should thereafter be elected by the Society instead of by the Board of Managers. The result of this change was, that Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child, and Maria W. Chapman were made members of the Committee for the ensuing year. Among the resolutions adopted, that on political duty proved the most troublesome to frame, and in its final shape was offered by C. C. Burleigh. It read (a large majority approving):

"Resolved, That the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society does not settle, or attempt to settle, either affirmatively or negatively, the question whether it is or is not the duty of any of the members of the Society, as such, to vote at the polls." *Lib.* 10:82.

The series which this resolution introduced contained also the following:

"Resolved, That, as abolitionists, we cannot give any countenance to the election of Martin Van Buren or William Henry Harrison to the Presidency of the United States, without violating our anti-slavery principles and professions; inasmuch as both of them have publicly committed themselves in support of slavery. *Lib.* 10:82.

"Resolved, That, without intending to pass a censure on those abolitionists who urge the formation of an abolition

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political party, or the nomination of candidates for office on abolition grounds, we heartily disapprove the adoption of such measures, as inexpedient and injurious to the cause they are designed to promote.

"Resolved, therefore, That we regret the course pursued by the recent Convention of the friends of immediate emancipation at Albany, in nominating candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States; and highly as we respect the gentlemen whose names were brought before the public as nominees of that Convention, we cannot advise our friends to waste their energies in futile efforts to promote their election."

The resolution on the Church proceeded from Mr. Garrison, and, after modification, was adopted as follows:

Lib. 10: 82.

"Whereas, the American Church, with the exception of some of its smaller branches, has given its undisguised sanction and support to the system of American Slavery, in the following among other ways, viz.:

"1. By profound silence on the sin of slaveholding;

"2. By tolerating slave-breeding, slave-trading, and slaveholding in its ministers and members;

"3. By receiving the avails of the traffic in 'slaves and the souls of men' into the treasuries of its different benevolent institutions; and

"4. By its indifference and opposition to the Anti-slavery enterprise;[1] — Therefore,

"Resolved, That the Church ought not to be regarded and treated as the Church of Christ, but as the foe of freedom, humanity and pure religion, so long as it occupies its present position."

[1] In this very month of May, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, sitting at Baltimore, and beset with memorials from Northern and Southern conferences on the subject of slavery, voted (74 to 46) "that it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher among us to permit colored persons to give testimony against white persons, in any State where they are denied that privilege in trials at law" (*Lib.* 10: 91, 98; 'Journal of General Conference,' pp. 60, 86–88, 109). On June 3, the Conference voted "that, under the provisional exception of the general rule of the church on the subject of slavery, the simple holding of slaves, or mere ownership of slave property, in States or Territories where the laws do not admit of emancipation and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom,

Mr. Garrison further offered resolutions expressing dissatisfaction with the reasons given by the Executive Committee, in their annual report, for the sale and transfer of the *Emancipator*, inasmuch as the assets of the Society much exceeded its liabilities. The New York City Anti-Slavery Society was held morally bound to restore the paper, on being properly indemnified for expenses incurred; and a committee, consisting of E. G. Loring, N. P. Rogers, J. S. Gibbons, Nathan Winslow, and Thomas Earle, was appointed to negotiate for that end. The terms demanded being too onerous, there was nothing left for the American Society but to resolve, on motion of Mr. Loring, to establish a new organ. *Lib.* 10:82. *Lib.* 10:82.

One other resolution, or series of resolutions, offered by David Lee Child on behalf of the business committee, still calls for notice:

"Resolved, That the American Anti-Slavery Society regard with heartfelt interest the design of 'the World's Convention,' about to assemble in London; and anticipate from its labors a powerful and blessed influence upon the condition and prospects of the victims of slavery and prejudice, wherever they are found. *Lib.* 10:82.

"Resolved, That our beloved friends William Lloyd Garrison, Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, Charles Lenox Remond, and Lucretia Mott be and they hereby are appointed Delegates, to represent this Society in the said Convention, and we heartily commend them to the confidence and love of the universal abolition fraternity.

"Resolved, That the Anti-slavery enterprise is the cause of universal humanity, and as such legitimately calls together the WORLD'S CONVENTION; and that this Society trusts that that Convention will fully and practically recognize, in its organiza-

constitutes no legal barrier to the election or ordination of ministers to the various grades of office known in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church. . . ." ('Journal,' pp. 34, 47, 129, 167-171). Both the majority and minority reports of the Committee on Slavery were laid upon the table, conformably to the desire of the Bishops. At this same time the General Assembly of the New School Presbyterian Church, sitting in Philadelphia, refused to commit itself on the subject of slavery, but censured presbyteries which had excluded slaveholders from their pulpits and communion (*Lib.* 10:93, 94).

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tion and movements, the EQUAL BROTHERHOOD of the entire HUMAN FAMILY, without distinction of color, sex, or clime."

Lib. 9:93.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had been founded in London in April, 1839, at the instance of Joseph Sturge, an eminent member of the Society of

Lib. 9:61.

Friends. His first public proposal of it, on reaching America, led the editor of the *Emancipator* to suggest

Emanc. March 21, 1839; *Lib.* 9:116.

that a world's anti-slavery convention be held in London in the following year; and this idea was quickly adopted by the new society. The official circular invitation reached Mr. Garrison, as corresponding secretary of the

Lib. 9:163.

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in October. It was broadly addressed to "friends of the slave of every nation and of every clime," and, besides inviting them to a General Conference on June 12, 1840, strongly urged them "to associate themselves, and unitedly, as well as individually, to labor for the extinction of slavery." Stirred by the call of his co-sectaries, Whittier echoed it in sounding verse in the little collection of

P. 108; *Lib.* 10:8.

anti-slavery poems called 'The North Star,'—

> "Yes, let them gather! — Summon forth
> The pledged philanthropy of Earth."

Lib. 10:3.

"Amen," said his old friend, the editor of the *Liberator*, "with all our souls! Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers — Jews, Gentiles, Ishmaelites — Women, Non-Resistants, Warriors, and all — 'let them come' — all but those who refuse to associate for the slave's redemption with others who do not agree with them as to the divinity of human politics, and the scriptural obligation to prevent woman from opening her mouth in an anti-slavery gathering for 'the suffering and the dumb' — and *they* cannot come, *conscientiously* — they are, *par excellence*, new organiza-

Lib. 10:47.

tionists!" The Convention, he remarked later, had been distinctly placed on a non-resistant basis, in accord with the constitution of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which pledged its members to the employment

of measures of "a moral, religious, and pacific character" solely. *Lib.* 9:163.

The New Organizationists did not need these signals to prepare themselves for renewing in England their sectarian warfare. The result of their private correspondence was manifested in a second, modified call, dated February 15, 1840, in which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society desired "early to receive, from the different anti-slavery bodies who may appoint deputies, the names of the *gentlemen* who are to represent them"; and in a letter from Joseph Sturge to a member of the Executive Committee, dated March 3, 1840, in which he deprecated the sending of female delegates to the World's Convention, and desired it might be discouraged. It would encounter a strong adverse feeling in England, from which country there would be no female representation. *Lib.* 10:119. *Lib.* 10:46. *Lib.* 10:75.

In the meantime, however, the Massachusetts Board had already chosen its delegates, including not only Mr. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, George Bradburn, William Adam (Professor of Oriental Languages at Harvard College), Isaac Winslow, and many other leading abolitionists, white and black, but a large proportion of women — Harriet Martineau, a life-member of the Massachusetts Society; Mrs. Phillips and Mrs. Chapman and Mrs. Child, as well as their respective husbands; Miss Abby Kelley, Miss Emily Winslow, and still others. The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, unabashed by Sturge's rebuke, named a full contingent of their sex, with Lucretia Mott at their head.[1] Mrs. Mott, with Garrison and Rogers (already a delegate from New Hampshire), being now selected to represent the American Society, went in a double capacity, and so offered the completest test of the Convention's disposition to "fully and practically recognize, in its organization and movements, the equal brotherhood of the entire Human Family, without dis- *Lib.* 10:55. *Lib.* 10:83. *Lib.* 10:55.

[1] Her sister delegates were Mary Grew, Sarah Pugh, Abby Kimber, and Elizabeth Neall — all Quakers, except Miss Grew.

Lib. 10:82. tinction of color, sex, or clime"—to quote once more the resolution of the American Society.

The closeness of the time of the anniversary meeting in New York to that of the World's Convention had led *Lib.* 10:47. to a request from Massachusetts for an anticipation of the former date; but the Executive Committee, not indisposed to put obstacles in the way of a transatlantic *Lib.* 10:51. representation from that quarter, refused to comply. Mr. Garrison quickly decided that for him the nearest *Life of J. and L. Mott, p.* 141. duty was to attend the anniversary, whether it cost him a punctual arrival in London, or even the trip itself. As the event proved, he incurred the former penalty.

W. L. Garrison to George Bradburn.

MS. BOSTON, April 24, 1840.

Your note of yesterday, requesting letters of introduction to anti-slavery friends in England, has just come. As you intimate that you may leave to-morrow, and Francis Jackson informs me that he has a bundle for you, you see I have scarcely a moment to comply with your request. But George Thompson will be sufficient to obtain for you an introduction to a host of noble men and women across the Atlantic. How glad, how very glad, I am that Lucretia Mott and her husband are going to the Convention! And how sorry, how *very* sorry, I am that I cannot go with them and with you! My dear Bradburn, it is not probable that I shall arrive in season to be at the opening of the Convention; but, I beseech you, *fail not to have women recognized as equal beings in it.* Interchange thoughts with dear Thompson about it. I know he will go for humanity, irrespective of sex.

God speed you!

William M. Chace to G. W. Benson.

MS. BOSTON, May 6, 1840.

Bro. Garrison wished me to write to you because he has not *May* 11, 1840. time. He can't leave here until next Monday. He is in great doubt about going to England. I hope he *will not* go. That Convention will be sectarian; and if he don't go, and writes Geo. Thompson a letter giving all the reasons, I believe they will defeat this half-souled *Worldly* Convention.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

NEW YORK, May 15, 1840. *Friday afternoon. MS.*

Our campaign has just closed, and a severe siege we have had of it, and a glorious triumph we have achieved. It was our anti-slavery boat-load that saved our Society from falling into the hands of the new-organizers, or, more correctly, *disorganizers*. They had drummed up recruits from all quarters, by the most dishonorable means, and a formidable appearance they presented at the opening of the meeting on Tuesday. The first subject that came up to try the strength of the parties was the appointment of Abby Kelley on the Business Committee. The vote stood about 560 in her favor to 450 against her. Where these 450 belonged, or who they were, we had no means of ascertaining, because the question was not taken by yeas and nays. The minority finally seceded, and formed a society with the title, "The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society." Arthur Tappan declined a re-election, and Lindley Coates, one of the signers of the Philadelphia Declaration of Sentiments,[1] was chosen in his stead. Not one of the Executive Committee was re-elected, except James S. Gibbons. We have made clean work of everything — adopted the most thorough-going resolutions, and taken the strongest ground, with *crashing* unanimity. *Lib.* 10:83.

The excitement in the city has been great. The spirit of mobocracy has been roused, in consequence of so many of the "Garrison party" having come from Massachusetts; and our delegation have been driven out of the halls we had engaged, and had to go from pillar to post to find a place where to lay their heads. Goss's Graham House has been assailed by a mob, several windows broken, the door burst open, etc., etc.; though not many were engaged in this work of mischief. What particularly excited these "lewd fellows of the baser sort" was, the mixing of our white and colored friends on terms of equality. One of our friends from Oberlin was severely injured. As Rogers and myself have been stopping with our colored friend Van Rensalaer,[2] we have seen nothing of the mobocrats. It has not amounted to anything like a popular tumult. . . . *Lib.* 10:85. *63 Barclay Street.* *N. P. Rogers.*

[1] This statement is erroneous. Mr. Coates's name was not subscribed to the Declaration.

[2] N. P. Rogers reports (in *Herald of Freedom*, 6:126): "At the National Meeting in May, Thomas Van Rensalaer opened his heart and his home in New York to brother Garrison and us, without money and without price. He had no house there, where he could do for us as he wished to do. His table, in his victualling cellar, was abundant and excellent — too good, 'if

CHAP. VI. 1840.

Yesterday forenoon, in the meeting, your little package was put into my hands; and my heart was delighted to read the hasty note which you penned for me. I am rejoiced and strengthened greatly to see with how much fortitude and composure you bear our separation.[1] Nobly done, dear Helen! May the Lord be with you in spirit, and enable you to sustain your mind until we meet again, which I trust will be in the course of three or four months. I assure you that nothing but a strong sense of duty will ever lead me to separate myself from you; for there is no place so dear to me in the world as my home, and I am never so happy as when by your side. You know I am not given to making many professions; but I do not feel the less, but *the more*, on this account. O no! Be assured that you shall hear from me frequently, when I am across the "big waters."

You shall have a long letter from me before I leave this city, which will be on Tuesday afternoon next, in the fine large ship *Columbus*, for Liverpool. Rev. C. P. Grosvenor,[2]

anything,' for an abolitionist. Our noble-hearted colored friend bade us welcome to it, and treated us with all the kindness and affection of a brother. As his table was underground, his lodging was far above ground. He had not his *New Haven dwelling* in New York. Such as he had there, he generously provided for us. He made us a 'nest on high.' Not so high as his own — but still in the 3d or 4th story of a Wall Street cotton storehouse. There we lodged with the 'Liberator,' Henry C. Wright and Geo. Benson of Connecticut,—'on the soft side' of the best accommodations at friend Van Rensalaer's command, and as good as we required,— better far than our poor plantation clients share. Brother Van Rensalaer would have gladly furnished us all a bed of down. We could not pass over the circumstance unnoticed, that the great anti-slavery city of New York, the headquarters of the American Anti-Slavery Society, before the anti-slavery 'property and standing' seceded from it, while they were yet in its bosom, — where there is a City Anti-Slavery Society — the place of the Tappans and the Jays — that it had not a place for WM. LLOYD GARRISON to lay his head, below that cotton loft. We trust our new-organized brother Jonathan Curtis had snugger quarters. We take this late opportunity of acknowledging, too, the kind hospitality of Thomas Truesdell and family, who gave us, with brother Garrison, the shelter of his beautiful home on Brooklyn Heights, from the close of the meeting until the departure of our vessel for England." (See also *Lib.* 10:87.)

[1] Mrs. Garrison was on the eve of her third confinement.

[2] Of Worcester, Mass. Grosvenor, together with the Rev. Nathaniel Colver, of Boston, and the Rev. Elon Galusha, of Perry, N. Y., had been deputed to attend the World's Convention by the body called the National Baptist A. S. Convention organized in New York on Apr. 28-30, 1840 (*Mass. Abolitionist*, 2:53). Colver was also a delegate of the Mass. Abolition Society, and Galusha of the American and Foreign A. S. Society (*ibid.*, 2:111, and *Lib.* 10:118).

William Adams,[1] C. L. Remond, and Rogers, will go with me. . . . You shall hear from me again in a day or two. CHAP. VI. 1840.

NEW YORK, May 19, 1840. *MS.*

To-day, at 12 o'clock, was the time advertised for the sailing of the *Columbus*. The wind, however, is "dead ahead," so that the packet will not sail until to-morrow, and perhaps not till the day after, should the wind not haul round. This delay renders it more than probable that we shall not arrive in season to be at the *opening* of the World's Convention. No doubt, our new-organization opponents are hoping that we shall have a long voyage; for they now understand that if we are present when the Convention commences, the "woman question" will inevitably be brought up, or, rather, the question whether the delegates appointed by the American Anti-Slavery Society (among whom is Lucretia Mott) shall be entitled to seats in the Convention. Father Bourne, who goes against "woman's rights," is now sitting by my side; and he predicts, with all confidence, that no woman will be allowed a seat in the Convention. Such a thing, he says, was never heard or thought of in any part of Europe.[2] It is, perhaps, quite probable that we shall be foiled in our purpose; but the subject cannot be agitated without doing good, and you and the dear friends of human rights may be assured that we shall not easily allow ourselves to be intimidated or put down. . . . *Geo. Bourne.*

My poor dear brother James! I am sorry to hear that his health does not seem to improve, and that he has another ulcer internally; but let us hope that the warm weather, with proper care and treatment, will yet restore him. I love him with all a brother's affection — of that, he cannot doubt. Earnest is my prayer to God, that he may be led to review his past life, and to perceive how widely he has departed from the path of rectitude, to the ruin of his immortal soul. O that he may be led to speedy and hearty repentance, that he may rejoice in God, and be made an heir of glory, through Jesus Christ our Saviour! But, without repentance, there can be no reconciliation; and unless we are reconciled to God, how can we be happy? I shall think a great deal about dear James during my absence, and shall endeavor to write to him soon. A letter from him would be regarded as a special token of his love by me. Whether he had better go to the Hospital, or to Brook-

[1] A most worthy Scotch Quaker, from Pawtucket, a Rhode Island delegate (see *Lib.* 10:165).

[2] It will be remembered that Bourne was a native of England.

G. W. Benson.

lyn,[1] in view of his present situation, George can decide far better than myself. . . .

N. P. Rogers.

The more I see of Rogers, I love him; and his friendship for me is ardent and sincere. He has never before been separated from his family, and you may naturally imagine how homesick he must feel. Yet he is full of pleasing anticipations as it respects the Convention in London, and longs to be on the water.

Mass. Abolitionist, 2:59.

Last evening, I addressed a very respectable audience of colored people in T. S. Wright's meeting-house, in relation to the difficulties which had arisen in our cause, and to the charges brought against myself. I went into the matter, root and branch — Lewis Tappan and La Roy Sunderland being present, neither of whom ventured to deny or [ ]. . . .

Mutilated.

Wednesday forenoon. MS.

NEW YORK, May 20, 1840.

I am writing in Wall Street, where the money-changers congregate, and where affluence and beggary are seen side by side, but acknowledging no relationship by creation, and at mutual enmity with each other. It is rightly named — *Wall* Street — for those who habitually occupy it in quest of riches at the expense of mankind, are *walled* in from the sympathies of human nature, and their hearts are as fleshless and hard as the paving-stones on which they tread, or the granite and marble buildings which they have erected and dedicated to their idol Gain. Love — pure, benignant, all-sympathizing, all-embracing Love — where art thou? Son of God, whose aim and end were to do good even to enemies — to reconcile man to man by reconciling man to God — to bind up the broken-hearted, succor the distressed, and rescue the fallen — where is thy blessed spirit to be seen? . . . All misery, all want, all suffering from famine and nakedness, is contrary to the will of God. He desires that all may be fed with the abundance of fatness, and that every man should sit under his own vine and fig-tree, and have none to molest him or make him afraid. That time shall yet arrive — for Jesus has not died in vain. He shall save his people from their *sins* — and, being saved from these, they will be saved from all the consequences of sin; for they will then love their neighbor as themselves, and love "worketh no evil."

This detention by the storm makes it almost certain that we shall be too late to be at the opening of the World's Con-

[1] He went to Brooklyn, Conn.

vention. I am not impatient, however, nor do I feel any disposition to grieve. My confidence in the wisdom, forecast, benevolence of God is perfect. . . . CHAP. VI. 1840.

NEW YORK, May 21, 1840. *Thursday forenoon. MS.*

The storm still continues, and the notice is, that the *Columbus* will not sail until to-morrow at 11 o'clock — which means that she cannot get out of the harbor with the present head-wind, even if that wind should continue a week longer. . . .

As soon as I came over from Brooklyn this morning (for Rogers and myself are still making our headquarters at Mrs. Truesdell's), whom should I see but Wm. M. Chace and James C. Jackson, just arrived from Boston, via Connecticut! The sight was as unexpected as it was pleasant. Many inquiries about home and friends were quickly made on my part, and as quickly answered on theirs. William informed me that dear Anne was with you, and that bro. James and dear little Georgie came with him to Killingly, in good spirits, and well-pleased with the prospect before them. . . . *Brooklyn, N. Y.* *Anne Benson.* *J. H. Garrison.*

I am gratified to hear that the Board of Managers in Boston are disposed to act in a very liberal and spirited manner, in reference to the National Society. Friend C. informs me that the Boston Female Society will pay over to the national treasury, in the course of a few weeks, the sum of $500. This is noble. The abolitionists of the country will yet be constrained to acknowledge, as one man, that the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society has been shamefully calumniated by those who have seceded from our ranks. Everything will come out right, if we only put unshaken trust in God, and care not what evil-minded persons may say or do to us.[1] . . . *W. M. Chace.*

I have had a good many letters to write since I have got over the fatigue of the annual meeting, as well as many

[1] J. C. Jackson writes on the same date as that of the above letter, to G. W. Benson (MS.): "1st. We have secured the old depository for $550, and shall induct — *probably* — Isaac T. Hopper as publishing ag't. We have written to Boston and Phila. for books sufficient to open a depository. 2d. We shall start a paper as large as the *Emancipator*, and call it the *American* or *National A. S. Standard* (!), and shall have the execution polished and complete. It will shine nicely, and you 'sons of the fatherland' must come up to its support nobly." Jackson was probably fresh from a conference with Mrs. Chapman, whose reminiscences concerning the founding of the *National A. S. Standard* are given in a letter of Jan. 11, 1881 (MS.): "My husband and myself took counsel together. I pledged myself to raise the money, which he borrowed of Dr. Farnsworth, of Groton,

CHAP. VI. 1840.

other things to attend to. Hence, together with the continual anxiety of my mind about the packet, I have not felt in the mood of writing anything in relation to the anti-slavery controversy, for the *Liberator*. Rogers has scarcely done any better for the *Herald of Freedom*. His cough still continues, and his spirits flag a little. I have luckily been able to buy some balsam of liverwort for him, and have administered a few doses, to good effect. Last evening, we had a long talk about his native place, and the hills and valleys, and lakes and rivers of New Hampshire; and it revived him exceedingly. Between us both, it is difficult to say which has the stronger yearning after home, and the wife, and children, and friends which cluster around that sacred spot. . . .

To-morrow morning, before I go on board of the packet, I hope to get a glimpse at this week's *Liberator*. Dear Johnson, I feel that he has an arduous task to perform in editing the paper,[1] and superintending the concerns of the printing establishment. May his health and his spirits not fail him.

The *Columbus* at last put to sea at noon on May 22, 1840, and Mr. Garrison, from near Sandy Hook, sent back a farewell to a friend in Boston (perhaps Mrs. Chapman), from which the following is an extract:

Lib. 10: 87.

"Knowing how many enfranchised spirits I leave behind me, who will be anxious to receive the earliest intelligence of the proceedings of the Convention, I shall write to you by the first conveyance. How that body will be organized, or how comprehensive will be the spirit which may pervade it, it is not for me to predict. The object of the Convention is to promote the interests of Humanity. It is, then, a common object, in which all who wear the human form have a right to participate,

and we immediately started the plan of the *Standard*. . . . It was sustained — mainly by means of the Fair — ever after by the Society (unwillingly, however, as the best men, both financially and as abolitionists — Francis Jackson, for example — preferred the *Liberator*, and thought it sufficient), up to the time when the abolition of slavery made it needless. Various friends contributed to sustain it editorially, till, some time in 1841, Mrs. [Lydia Maria] Child was appointed editor by the Exec. Com. (*not* Mr. C., who was never editor, although I obtained and paid for his services as a reporter, at Washington, for a short time)."

[1] Oliver Johnson was again supplying Mr. Garrison's place in his absence.

without regard to color, sex or clime. With a young woman placed on the throne of Great Britain, will the philanthropists of that country presume to object to the female delegates from the United States, as members of the Convention, on the ground of their sex? In what assembly, however august or select, is that almost peerless woman, LUCRETIA MOTT, not qualified to take an equal part?

"I have no wish to mar the harmony, or disturb the repose, of the Convention by the introduction of any topic, but I cannot consent to have one human being excluded from the World's Platform, even for the sake of peace. If I should be outvoted on this particular point, I may enter my protest against the decision, but neither secede nor 'new organize.'"[1]

Though fair weather ensued, the winds were baffling or disappointing, and the voyage of the *Columbus* was prolonged by nearly a week beyond the opening of the World's Convention. The captain (Cropper) was a Virginian, but did not discriminate against his white abolition passengers. Remond, however, on account of his color, was compelled to go in the steerage; and the second mate, who began by striking William Adams on account of a remonstrance against his cruelty to a sailor, on finding that Remond was to be the Rhode Island delegate's companion, caused a narrow bed, two feet wide, to be put up, said Adams might sleep there with his "nigger," and assigned his berth to other parties. As these failed to occupy it, the two friends had each a resting-place, though in very uncongenial company.[2] But the cabin passengers, with their drinking and gambling habits and their pro-slavery sentiments, were hardly more to the taste of Garrison and Rogers.

Lib. 10:134.

Lib. 10:127.

Lib. 10:123.

On the thirteenth day out not one-third of the course had been made, though the ship had a reputation for speed.

[1] Compare his action at Albany in July, 1839, *ante*, p. 309.

[2] Remond had had worse treatment at home on a Sound steamboat, being denied admittance to the cabin, and confined to the forward deck, on account of his color (*Lib.* 10:123).

W. L. Garrison to James H. Garrison.

Noon.

NEAR THE GRAND BANKS, June 4th, 1840.

MS.

Unless we have uncommon good luck the remainder of our trip, we shall be at least one month between the two ports [of New York and Liverpool]. Hence, it is highly probable that the World's Convention will have nearly closed its session by the time that we arrive in London. If so, my trip will have been almost in vain, and I shall retrace my steps homewards without much delay — probably by the first of August. I have come hither against my own inclinations, from the first; and now, with such a prospect before me, I sigh to think where I am, and that it is too late to beat a retreat.

June 11, lat. 48° 48′, long. 25° 4′.

My mind is becoming more and more concerned for the poor sailors. Their condition is a pitiable one. They are awfully oppressed, degraded, and contemned, as a class. If my life be spared, I will lift up my voice mightily in their behalf. Their wrongs shall be redressed.

W. L. Garrison to Maria W. Chapman.

[At Sea,] June 12, 1840.

Non-Resistant, August 12, 1840.

We have had very favorable winds for the last ten days, and are now within four hundred miles of Cape Clear. In four days more we hope to be in Liverpool. To-day the Convention meets in London. May it lay a broad foundation upon which to build the superstructure of Humanity! If it shall exclude from a participation in its proceedings a single human being, on account of complexion or sex, it will excite the pity and amazement of after ages. I am inclined to think it will act upon the "new organization" basis, and, while it will not proscribe color, will make a distinction in sex. If so, there will not be a delegate more forward to condemn such conduct than your friend,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

WITHIN SIGHT OF LAND, June 14, 1840.

MS., and Lib. 10:123.

Since I penned a few lines to you in the Gulf Stream, nothing of special importance has occurred to break the

monotony of a sea-voyage. Our passengers (of whom I complained) have not improved either in their manners or morals, and most cordially hate me for the burning rebukes which I have faithfully administered to them. Unspeakably happy as I should be to enjoy your society at the present time, I have felt thankful that you did not accompany me; for no virtuous woman could tolerate, for one moment, the language and conduct of such immoral creatures. Not a good thought, not a sensible remark, has fallen from any of their lips since we started; but swearing, drinking and smoking have been the order of the day. . . .[1]

And O! how my soul yearns to be again by your side! All last night I lay in my berth, unable to obtain the least repose, and thinking of you, your situation, the children, home, and friends. This I have done repeatedly, till my heart has been borne down by the rush of tumultuous emotions and the weight of affectionate longings. . . . Dear Helen, I can truly affirm, that I have never absented myself one hour from you as a matter of choice, but only as duty and friendship imperatively demanded the sacrifice. The strength of my love you will probably never fully know; for I am not accustomed to the use of fond terms, and feel a thousandfold more than I can express. . . .

By this time I conclude that you have passed through the perils of childbed. Would that some carrier-pigeon could bring me swift intelligence of the result! I cannot but hope that all has gone well with you and the new-born babe. The idea of

[1] On this same day, when opposite Cork, fresh haddock and flounders were brought on board by a fishing-boat from off shore; and Mr. Garrison writes to another friend (*Lib.* 10:123): "I have just excited the hot indignation of a medicinal doctor on board (an otherwise intelligent but profligate Englishman), because, on his declaring that every haddock bore the mark of the fingers of Jesus, ever since Peter made his memorable draught of fishes, I pleasantly pronounced it 'a fish story'—not supposing, for one moment, that he gave credence to so ridiculous a fable, for he is no Catholic. He instantly took fire at my 'impeachment of his veracity'—said the miracle was as duly authenticated as any other performed by the Saviour—admonished me that we were drawing near his native land, and that it behooved me to be careful how I came across his track—and, with a menacing air, gave me to understand that if I were a non-resistant, he was not! All this would have been quite ludicrous, had he not been in his cups. It is proper to add, that I have excited his animosity, as well as that of others in the cabin, on various occasions, on account of my reprobating the use of brandy, whiskey, wine and every other intoxicating drink—profane language—gambling, etc."

CHAP. VI. 1840.

having a third child, to be called my own, is almost as pleasing and novel to me as it was at the prospect of the birth of dear little Georgie. Should I hear good tidings from you, perhaps my Muse may manufacture some verses in honor of the new-comer; though I ought first, in order, to celebrate the advent of my little paragon, Willie Wallie. Well, he shall not be forgotten. I shall love all my children (and mine are thine, dearest), equally well.[1]

Fog and a gale retarded the passage from Holyhead to Liverpool, and brought the only perilous moments of the voyage.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

June 15, 1840.

Monday afternoon. MS., and Lib. 10:123.

8 o'clock.—Another pilot-boat comes dancing over the waves to the wild music of the gale, and is evidently intending to reach us. Now she makes a circuit around us, having a light skiff or wherry floating at her stern, with the pilot and two or three oarsmen in it, ready to be cast off, that he may be put on board; now it is alongside—and now the man of all men, at this crisis, leaps on to the deck—and now we all breathe freely once more. It is astonishing to see how instantaneous has been the relief afforded by his presence. Once more we are under weigh, slowly and cautiously.

All at once, too, we are in the midst of a great hubbub! The pilot has brought a copy of the Liverpool *Chronicle* of June 13, in which are detailed, at great length, the particulars of an attempt to assassinate Queen Victoria and her husband, Prince Albert, by a youth only 17 years of age, named Edward Oxford. As these particulars will be spread before you in the Boston papers quite as soon as the contents of this sheet will meet your eye, I will not attempt to make even a synopsis of them here. Suffice it to say, the mad attempt at murder proved abortive.

June 10, 1840.

As a large proportion of our passengers are Englishmen, the news created no little sensation in their breasts; but when, on reading the account aloud at their request, I came to the statement, that "the prisoner's father was a mulatto, and his grandfather was a black," they yelled like so many fiends broke loose from the bottomless pit—(remember! they have been to America, and have got the *virus* of slavery and preju-

[1] The Muse, however, observed the law of primogeniture.

dice infused into their veins!)— swore that Oxford "ought to be strung up, without judge or jury, and cut in pieces," in true Lynch-law style — the whole "nigger race" made to suffer for so foul an act, ay, and all those who are disposed to act as their advocates! I have seldom seen so horrid an exhibition of fiendish exultation and murderous malignity. CHAP. VI. 1840.

It was useless, of course, to attempt to argue the matter, especially as some of them were none the better for strong drink. Why it is any worse for a colored man or boy to perpetrate a crime than for a white one, I have never been able to understand. I ventured to remind one of the most violent, who was in favor of killing Oxford *instanter*, without any trial, that the law presumed every person to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty, and that it was possible, nay probable, that the lad was deranged;[1] but he scouted it all, and declared that it was *not possible* that he could be insane. O no! Because he had some colored blood in his veins! For a colored person, who does wrong, to be insane at the time, is an impossibility!

More was made of this affair because bros. Grosvenor, Rogers and myself were known to be abolitionists, on our way to attend the World's Convention. Poor creatures! they know not what they do. Their hearts are full of the spirit of murder, while they are professing to be horror-struck in view of an attempt to commit murder. . . . One of them said that he should not have cared if it had been an attempt to assassinate Daniel O'Connell! They all cordially detest O'Connell, because he is an "agitator" and an "abolitionist." . . .

Tuesday morning, 11 o'clock. *June* 16, 1840.

Safely arrived at Liverpool! *Laus Deo!* I feel very grateful for all the mercies that have been vouchsafed to us on our passage. We are all now grouped together in the Custom House, waiting to have our trunks examined. I have just heard that all our anti-slavery friends who preceded us, have arrived, and are now in London. We shall be there to-morrow afternoon, *Deo volente!* O for an opportunity to obtain rest — rest — rest!

[1] So the court found.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WORLD'S CONVENTION.—1840.

CHAP. VII. 1840.

Ante, 1: 348-350.

Lib. 10: 51, 52.

NEITHER in Liverpool nor yet in London was James Cropper ready with hospitable welcome, as seven years ago. The good man had passed away in February, leaving a name less familiar to the world at large than those of some of his coadjutors in the cause of abolition, but a solid claim to the gratitude of the oppressed hardly inferior to that of the most distinguished.[1] The personal introduction which in 1833 he gave Mr. Garrison to the leaders of the British anti-slavery host, was now, indeed, unnecessary; but no other member of the Society of Friends could have had so much influence with the managers of the World's Convention (largely of the same Society), to avert the

[1] See Mr. Garrison's tribute to his extraordinary liberality and activity, "his urbanity, his kindness, his disinterested regard for the welfare of the human race," in the *Liberator* of March 27, 1840 (10:51). The following sonnet was appended:

CROPPER! among the wise, the great, the good,
The friends of Man, whate'er his caste or clime,
Thy memory shall be hailed with gratitude,
Thy labors honored to the end of time!
Thine was a soul with sympathy imbued,
Broad as the earth, and as the heavens sublime;
Thy godlike object, steadfastly pursued,
To save thy race from misery and crime.
Mourn, England! for the loss thou hast sustained,
And let the nations of the earth lament,
With spirit broken, and with grief unfeigned;
And to her tears let LIBERTY give vent;
A star of glory has in darkness waned—
No more on earth survives the good man eloquent.

disgrace which the combined forces of transatlantic and cisatlantic sectarianism had already consummated when Mr. Garrison reached Liverpool.[1]

The Convention had opened on Friday, June 12, at Freemasons' Hall, Great Queen Street, with about five hundred delegates. Clarkson, in his 81st year, lame and nearly blind, accompanied by his daughter and a little grandson, was escorted to the chair and introduced by Joseph Sturge. His speech, shorn of one-third — the part relating to oppression in British India, which, having been committed to writing, had fallen under the keen eye of the censorship — was solemn and affecting. The delegates, full of deference and admiration, forbore to applaud the veteran, whose nerves were not equal to the excitement; even the customary cheers for O'Connell were withheld on his entering to make the first address. On Clarkson's departure, his place was supplied by a temporary chairman, whereupon Wendell Phillips rose to move a committee of five to prepare a correct list of members, with instructions "to include the names of all *persons* bearing credentials from any anti-slavery society."

Lib. 10:118.

Lib. 10:119.

Lib. 10:118, 119.

The question thus raised was, whether the Convention was a self-constituting body. The American delegates who had reached London some days in advance of the session, found that the Executive Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had assumed the oversight of credentials, and the authority to determine who should and who should not sit in the Convention. This was effected by an order to deposit the credentials with the Secretary, and receive in return the

Lib. 10:119.

[1] "Then comes the *great* and *mortal* conflict: the dreadful monster, SLAVERY, must be grappled with; and who is sent out to do it? Not man—not the stronger vessel. . . . No! weak, tender, untrained-for-the-work, modest *woman!* And when she appeals to the men against such unheard-of folly and atrocity to the weaker vessel, JAMES CROPPER has said — 'It is no use talking, Anne; the men are gone to sleep, and it is impossible to rouse them: you must go forth'" (Anne Knight to Mrs. Chapman, Aug. 4, 1840. *Lib.* 10:174).

CHAP. VII. 1840. tickets without which admission to the hall would be denied. To the women delegates on the Massachusetts list, tickets were not issued. This refusal was officially communicated by a deputation from the Committee in the following terms:

Lib. 10:119. "A letter having been read, addressed to the Secretary, dated Boston, 24th April, signed by Francis Jackson, President, and W. L. Garrison, Corresponding Secretary, of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, stating that several ladies have been appointed as delegates to the approaching Convention, it was unanimously

"Resolved, That the Committee, in the original summons of the Convention, did not contemplate, collectively or individually, the admission of ladies.

Lib. 10:46. "That at a subsequent period, in the letter of the 15th of February, extensively circulated on both sides of the Atlantic, the invitation is addressed to gentlemen exclusively.

"That the subject having been brought seriously and deliberately before this Committee on the 15th of May, it was unanimously determined that ladies were inadmissible as delegates, and it is now again resolved, without a single dissentient voice, that this opinion be confirmed and respectfully communicated to the parties in question.

"W. D. CREWDSON, *Chairman.*"

Lib. 10:119. "We told them," wrote Mr. Phillips to the *Liberator*, "we could not submit to their determination — that we had come to a Convention which would, of course, settle the qualifications of its own members. They assured us we had mistaken the nature of the meeting. It might have been called, 'by a poetical license,' a World's Convention, but was in fact only a Conference with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and, as such, they should settle who were to be admitted as members.

"We replied, it would be our duty to bring that question before the Convention. (By 'we' and 'us' I mean the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania delegation. Of the New York friends, some stood aloof — more joined with the Committee, and argued their cause most stoutly.) It was confessed by more than one that letters had been received from America on this point; and they, with other things, were the occasion, no doubt, of those explanatory papers sent to the United

States, in which it was insinuated, rather than expressed, that membership would be limited to gentlemen. Professor Adam and myself waited on the Committee, stating our surprise that, all having been requested to come early, no one had been invited to sit with the Committee, and protesting against their assumption of power to settle the terms of membership. They heard us very kindly about fifteen minutes. We were then, on the motion of J. Sturge, politely requested to retire and leave them to deliberate on what we had said. *Ante, p.* 353.

"In this state of things the Convention met, amid earnest requests to us on all sides to avoid outraging English feeling and bringing division into so noble a body. Reverend divines thought it [their] duty to intercede with us personally, and eminent abolitionists painted in glowing colors the ruin which impended. All persisted in giving an exclusively *English* character to the meeting, and interpreting the terms of their invitation by English usages; while we allowed this would be right had we come to an *English* meeting, but wholly refused to have a *World's* Convention measured by an English yardstick."

In speaking to his motion, Mr. Phillips said that several ladies from Massachusetts had been refused admission to the Convention, and were naturally aggrieved. The call embraced the friends of abolition everywhere. The Massachusetts and American Societies had admitted women to an equal share in their deliberations. Their delegates had, under the call, a right to a place in the Convention. Cries of No, no! greeted this assertion. Professor Adam thereupon declared that if women had no right there he had none: his credentials were from the same persons and the same Society. George Stacey, an influential Quaker, explained that the system in England was uniform, in business matters, to exclude women unless announced as associated. Dr. John Bowring said the custom was more honored in the breach than in the observance: "What! American women coming to England as the representatives of the anti-slavery associations, not to be welcomed among them? What! are they not to be welcomed with honor, not to be put in the seats of dignity?" He could not doubt the adoption of *Lib.* 10:118.

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Mr. Phillips's motion. The Rev. J. Burnet, a leader among the Dissenters, entreated the Convention to be calm. He had a great respect for ladies — he continued, in his condescending way; but we must put an English interpretation on English phraseology. The female delegates excluded "were placed on a level with their own wives and daughters"— an ingenious perversion of the truth. The Rev. Henry Grew, one of the Pennsylvania delegates, confessed that the admission of females to take a part in the Convention did not accord with his views of propriety. The Rev. Nathaniel Colver asserted that a large portion of the American abolitionists thought as the English did on this subject. Mr. Stacey proposed, as a substitute for Mr. Phillips's motion: "That this Convention, upon a question arising as to the admission of females appointed as delegates from America to take their seats in this body, resolve to decide this question in the negative."

Upon this the debate was renewed. The Rev. Elon Galusha said that he represented a numerous American constituency which discountenanced the equal participation of women. George Bradburn, on the other hand, held that this would no longer be a World's Convention with women left out. "It had been said, if the women were admitted, they would take sides. Why, had they not as good a right to take sides as the men?" Col. Jonathan P. Miller,[1] of Vermont, felicitated himself on having come from an American State which had never been troubled with a woman question. The women there were among the primeval abolitionists, and had been merely seconded by their husbands. Charles Stuart "was persuaded, having been in the United States,[2] and

[1] He had served in Greece with Lord Byron (Stanton's 'Hist. Woman Suffrage,' 1:439). For his conversion to abolition by Orson S. Murray, see the Cincinnati *Price Current*, June 18, 1885.

[2] He arrived in New York from Jamaica in April, and took ship on May 9 for England (*Lib.* 10:71). His brief stay in the metropolis was sufficient to convert him to the side of the disorganizers. The "confounded woman question"— the "new opinion," the "insane innovation," that "whatever

being thoroughly acquainted with the great body of abolitionists, that in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts the most uncompromising friends of liberty and of the slave were against the reception of lady delegates as recommended" — a statement bearing the brand of New Organization veracity. George Thompson confessed he had deprecated the introduction of this question, and had anticipated it with dread, though he maintained the right of the American societies to send female delegates. He had himself invited some of them, but not intentionally as delegates. Having labored till the eleventh hour to prevent the question from being mooted in the Convention, he now earnestly requested his American friends to withdraw their motion. Mr. Phillips, however, declined to take the responsibility, and the debate was once more renewed.

William H. Ashurst, a London solicitor, eminent for his warmth of heart and philanthropic activity, insisted that the intention of the callers was of no account: "The question was as to what their intention ought to have been. . . . They professed to act on principles of universality, and were about to commence their proceedings by disfranchising one-half of creation." Women were as well qualified as men to understand and guard everything connected with Christianity. Had the Convention sat in Virginia, it would have been said that they had no right to set themselves in opposition to the prejudices and customs of society in putting down slavery. Great confusion followed this home-thrust, whereupon the Rev. Alexander Harvey, of Glasgow, rose and professed great respect for women — within their sphere. "He thought, and conscientiously believed, that if he gave his vote for admitting females to vote and speak in

is morally right for a *man* to do is morally right for a *woman* to do" — was the chief cause of his violent revulsion of feeling towards his old associates. See his circular letter to English abolitionists in 1841 (*Lib.* 11:74, 82). "Charles Stuart's mind," as Mrs. Mott pithily recorded in her diary, "was swallowed up in the littleness of putting down woman" ('Life and Letters of J. and L. Mott,' p. 157).

CHAP. VII. 1840. such an assembly as the present, he should be acting in opposition to what he considered the word of God." Cheers and more confusion ensued. Another clergyman, the Rev. John Angell James, of Birmingham, thought the question prejudicial to the cause. It was new in England and unsettled in America, and involved far wider considerations than slavery. Imitating the facetiousness of the Rev. Mr. Burnet, he said that if the women yielded this point, it would be one more laurel in their Martyr Age.

James G. Birney deprecated the impression that had been conveyed by George Thompson and some of the American speakers, that the question was settled in the United States. On the contrary, it had, since his departure from that country, led to a split in the American Anti-Slavery Society, and to the founding of a new organization from which women would be excluded. A similar separation had taken place in Massachusetts. "Besides," he continued, with a wide divergence from the facts, "most of those who were for the rights of women were also in favor of what was called the no-human-government system." Mr. Phillips denied this in his own behalf, in remarks which terminated the debate; and, the vote being taken, an overwhelming majority gave the victory to sectarianism by adopting Mr. Stacey's substituted resolution.[1]

George Thompson then said: "I hope that as the question is now decided, it will never be again brought forward; and I trust that Mr. Phillips will give us the assurance that we shall proceed with one heart and one mind." To this Mr. Phillips responded: "I have no doubt of it. There is no unpleasant feeling in our minds. I have no doubt that the women will sit with as much interest behind the bar as though the original proposition

[1] "All the members of the British India Committee voted with us, among whom were our staunch and kind friends the Peases," wrote Wendell Phillips (*Lib.* 10:119).

had been carried in the affirmative. All we asked was an expression of opinion, and, having obtained it, we shall now act with the utmost cordiality." Finally, Professor Adam declared: "I shall co-operate with the gentlemen now around me with the same zeal and earnestness as I should have done if this question had never been started." So, for the present, the incident was dismissed — with cheers. CHAP. VII. 1840.

Five days later, on the afternoon of June 17, 1840, Mr. Garrison, with his companions Rogers, Remond, and Adams, arrived in London. On learning what had taken place in the Convention, their minds were quickly made up. "At our lodgings," wrote Mrs. Mott in her diary under the above date, "met Wm. L. Garrison and party, 'with joy and sorrow too.' They had resolved not to enter the Convention whence we were excluded. We reasoned with them on the subject, but found them fixed." One reason for this decision was the lateness of their arrival. By Mr. Garrison's account: *Memorial of Geo. Bradburn, p.* 75. *Life, p.* 156.

"The Convention had but three days more to sit,[1] and therefore we would not disturb it by renewing the agitation of the subject already decided, but so decided as to prevent us also from entering without renewing its discussion. Another reason was, that, after having called every friend of the oppressed from all parts of the globe, the Convention was not an open one, but resolved itself into a delegated body. Another was, that, *being* a delegated body, the delegates were not all received. Why, which of the delegates had the right to reject the rest? As well might the women have conspired to vote out the men, as the men have undertaken to exclude the women. . . . *Lib.* 10:139.

"It was said that the London meeting resolved, from the beginning, to keep out other questions — to discuss nothing but Anti-slavery. Then I turn to that Convention and tell them that, in excluding women, they *did* undertake to settle another great question. I say that, in that act, they swerved from their abolition integrity. If our credentials were true,

[1] It adjourned June 23.

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there should have been an end of the matter. It was for the abolitionists of America, of France, of Denmark, of England, to choose by whom they would be represented, and not for any London committee to decide. . . .

"I heard . . . an apology for the London meeting, in that it had not opened its sessions with vocal prayer. It was said that, as the Convention was composed of men entertaining every variety of religious belief, it was judged best to save the feelings of those who were conscientiously opposed to formal observances,[1] by omitting vocal supplication. Then I say, if they could do thus much to save the feelings of individuals, they ought to have received our American female delegation for the same reason, and left all free to pray or act as they might feel moved in spirit. . . .

"Once more, as to our refusal to join the meeting. We felt that in rejecting the credentials of those who were delegated with us, the London meeting did really dishonor our own. We felt that we had no more right there than was possessed by our rejected co-delegates; and we would not go in as a matter of favor."

So Mr. Garrison went into the gallery, to the great scandal even of the majority of the delegates: for what sort of a World's Convention or "Conference" was it in which the founder of the greatest anti-slavery movement of the age — or of any age — was debarred from taking his seat on the floor?

Lib. 10:139.

"The act," says Rogers, "was decisive in its effect. Haman never looked more blank on seeing Mordecai sitting in the king's gate with his hat on, than did this 'Committee in Conference' on seeing us take the position we did. Garrison was besought to come down. They tried by every means in their power to seduce him down. Every time he was mentioned, that whole Conference would applaud as if they thought they

Lib. 10:143.

could *clap* him down. We were beset with entreaties and regrets; and, to crown the whole, at a special meeting of the Committee, the following letter and resolutions were adopted

Lib. 10:143.

and sent to us ["stating that it was their unanimous desire that we would consent to become members of that body in our

[1] The Quakers, namely; who, in this case, may be said to have looked out for number one.

individual capacity"].[1] This would have been very kind — flattering in the extreme, even — *if there had not been a motive for it.* It was the winding-up of their efforts to remove *that argument* against their decision [pointing to Mr. Garrison] out of the gallery. But they might as well have expected to remove the pillars upon which the gallery stood. They could not argue away what they had done; they could not argue 'the seal off the bond.'"

"Several went up to welcome Garrison and party, and some tried to introduce them to our new-organized meeting, but were hushed. Wendell Phillips tried to read their credentials,[2] but was put down with a kind of promise that he should have a hearing the next day." Thus Mrs. Mott, in her diary, on June 18. On June 19: "Wendell Phillips again tried to introduce Garrison and company, without success; some angry debate. We all felt discouraged." June 20: "Amelia Opie stopped us to speak as we went into the meeting, and said, 'You are held in high estimation, and have raised yourselves by coming.'[3] Lady Byron sat

Memorial of G. Bradburn, p. 77.

Life, p. 156.

Ibid.

[1] (MS.) BRITISH & FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.
June 18th, 1840.

DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure to inform you, that a special meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was held this evening, George Stacey, Esqre., in the chair; when it was unanimously

Resolved, "To invite your attendance at the sittings of the Conference now in session at Freemasons' Hall."

I beg to state that a card of admission will be delivered on your personal application at the Committee Room adjoining the Hall.

I am, Dear Sir, Yours respectfully,
J. H. TREDGOLD, *Secretary.*

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Esquire.

[2] *Ante*, p. 351. These explicitly deprecated the making any sexual distinction in organizing the Convention.

[3] While it cannot be believed, from what has gone before, that the female delegates would under any circumstances have been admitted, the exclusion of Lucretia Mott and other female American Friends was a darling object with the guiding spirits of the Convention. William Howitt wrote to the former on June 27, 1840: "I heard of the circumstance of your exclusion at a distance, and immediately said — 'Excluded on the ground that they are women?' No, that is not the real cause — there is something behind. Who and what are these female delegates? Are they orthodox in

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upstairs with Garrison and Remond, conversing freely with the latter."[1]

Mr. Garrison did not lack for British sympathy. Before his appearance in the gallery, the following letter was indited to him:

William H. Ashurst to W. L. Garrison.

MS.

MUSWELL HILL, June 18th, 1840.

I trust you will pardon me for presuming as a stranger to write to you on the subject of the delegation of women to the Convention, and the refusal of the Convention to receive them in that character.

I was present at, and as a delegate took part in, the debate, but I am unable to be at the Convention to-morrow.

I hear that at present you incline not to act as a delegate yourself, for reasons which have been named to me; but as they do not come from yourself I do not enter upon them, as I might be combating reasons which are not really yours.

But I take the liberty of suggesting for your consideration that you might draw a protest in which the whole matter might be set forth, and tender that protest to the Convention. This, it may be presumed, the opponents of the women delegates will object to, and probably to your being heard upon it. Any delegate may then move that your protest be entered on the minutes, on account of the importance of the subject to which it refers, and thus a debate will be raised, not in

religion? The answer was, 'No, they are considered to be of the Hicksite party of Friends.' My reply was, 'That is enough—*there* lies the real cause, and there needs no other. The influential Friends in the Convention would never for a moment tolerate their presence there, if they could prevent it. They hate them because they have dared to call in question their sectarian dogmas and assumed authority, and they have taken care to brand them in the eyes of the Calvinistic Dissenters, who form another large and influential portion of the Convention, as Unitarians—in their eyes the most odious of heretics'" (*Lib.* 10:139). See, for this Friendly persecution of co-sectaries, *Lib.* 10:198, and the 'Life and Letters of J. and L. Mott' *passim*.

[1] "The first day we sat *alone* in the gallery; but, on the second day," writes William Adams (*Lib.* 10:127), "the people, wishing to see how we looked, came and went the whole day. . . . Lady Byron was among the first to venture up into our small gallery. She sat down beside C. L. Remond and myself, and informed us who the speakers were, for we were so far away that we could not hear."

violation of the resolution already passed, but which may be useful to this important subject, for publicity will thereby be secured. CHAP. VII. 1840.

I took the liberty, in a note to Mr. Wendell Phillips yesterday, of suggesting the propriety of giving notice at this Convention that he should recommend the societies in America to continue to delegate women, and raise the debate upon their rights at every future Convention. This will keep the mind of the Convention alive to the subject, and it will ultimately be carried because it is right. We owe much to Mr. Wendell Phillips for his firmness in resisting the urgent entreaties made to him to withdraw his motion.

I am aware how much your time must be occupied, and as a stranger I have no right to intrude an invitation upon you. I apologize, therefore, for saying that if it should be convenient to you on Sunday next to drive as far as Muswell Hill in the afternoon, I shall be very glad to see you, and you will meet my friends William and Mary Howitt (unless some unexpected circumstance should prevent their coming), whom it may be a pleasure to you to meet. Lucretia Mott is, I think, also likely to come, with Mr. Dawes and Mr. Keep.[1] *June 21*, 1840.

We dine at 3 o'clock, and shall be glad to see you then, or before or after, as may best accord with your arrangements and inclinations.

Whether I see you or not, accept my thanks for all that you have done and are doing for human redemption in this world, and believe me to be

Yours faithfully,

W. H. ASHURST.

Muswell Hill is near Hornsey, and a cab will bring you for 5*s*. from town.

[1] William Dawes and the Rev. John Keep, of Oberlin, who were collecting aid for that institution. The dinner party came off on the date appointed—"a visit full of interest and delight" to Mrs. Mott ('Life,' p. 158). To her wrote William Howitt subsequently (*Lib.* 10:139): "I have heard the noble Garrison blamed that he has not taken his place in the Convention, because you, his fellow-delegates, were excluded. I, on the contrary, honor him for his conduct. In mere worldly wisdom he might have entered the Convention, and there entered his protest against the decision—but in at once refusing to enter where you, his fellow-delegates, were shut out, he has entered a far nobler protest, not in the mere Convention, but in the world at large. I honor the lofty principle of that true champion of humanity, and shall always recollect with delight the day Mary and I spent with you and him."

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Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Bowring, a Member of Parliament as well as of the Convention, confirmed his support of woman's rights in the latter place by inviting Mr. Garrison to breakfast on the 19th of June. Bradburn was also there, and among their fellow-guests were Judge Jeremie, the eminent West Indian friend of the slave, and F. A. Isambert, equally distinguished for his anti-slavery services in the French colonies.[1] To Bowring the woman question was "of singular interest," as he wrote to Mr. Garrison on November 9, 1840:

Memorial of G. Bradburn, p. 75.

"How often have I regretted," he continued, "that this subject was launched with so little combination — so little preparation — so little knowledge of the manner in which it had been entangled by the fears of some and the follies of others. But bear up! — for the coming of those women will form an era in the future history of philanthropic daring. They made a *deep* if not a wide impression, and have created apostles if as yet they have not multitudes of followers. The experiment was well worth making. It honored America — it will instruct England. If in some matters of high civilization you are *behind*, in this matter of courageous benevolence how far are you *before* us! My grateful affections are with them and you."

MS., *and Lib.* 10: 207.

In a like spirit, Harriet Martineau wrote to Mrs. Chapman:

"Garrison was quite right, I think, to sit in the gallery of the Convention. I conclude you think so. It has done much, I am persuaded. You will live to see a great enlargement of our scope of usefulness, I trust; but, what with the vices of some women and the fears of others, it will be hard work to assert our liberty. I will, however, till I die — and so will you — and so make it easier for some few to follow. . . . The information brought out at the Convention will do good, I have no doubt; but the knowledge we have obtained of the obvious deficiencies of the members, in the very principles they came to advocate, will surely do more. . . . I feel in my soul the honor of the appointment of delegate. You know

Lib. 10: 174.

Ante, p. 353.

[1] He was the chief promoter of the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery, which in 1836 had elected Mr. Garrison a corresponding member (*ante*, p. 82)

that I could not have discharged its duties, even if the others had been admitted. But I beg to assure my constituents, that there is in me no lack of willingness to serve our cause in any capacity."

O'Connell, to take another type of British opinion, also ranged himself on the side of the excluded delegates. In this he falsified the prediction of Joshua Leavitt, in the *Emancipator*, that "Daniel O'Connell will be too anxious to bring to bleeding Ireland the blessings of equal law and just government, to turn aside for the purpose of furnishing arms to a reckless adventurer, who has staked his fortunes on his ability to overturn all government and abolish all law." The Irish "Liberator" manfully gave publicity to his views in a letter to Mrs. Mott, dated London, June 20:

Lib. 10:1c

"I readily comply with your request to give my opinion as to the propriety of the admission of the female delegates into the Convention.

Lib. 10:14
Life of J
and L. Mo
p. 471.

"I should premise by avowing, that my first impression was strong against that admission; and I believe I declared that opinion in private conversation. But when I was called upon by you[1] to give my personal decision on the subject, I felt it my duty to investigate the grounds of the opinion I had formed; and upon that investigation I easily discovered that it was founded on no better grounds than an apprehension of the ridicule it might excite, if the Convention were to do what is so unusual in England—to admit women to an equal share and right of discussion. I also, without difficulty, recognized that this was an unworthy, and indeed a cowardly motive, and I easily overcame its influence.[2]

"My mature consideration of the entire subject convinces me of the right of the female delegates to take their seats in the Convention, and of the injustice of excluding them. I do not care to add, that I deem it also impolitic; because, that exclusion being unjust, it ought not to have taken place even if it could also be politic. . . .

[1] Mrs. Mott's letter was dated June 17, 1840 (*Lib.* 10:143).

[2] Already, on Bradburn's having introduced O'Connell to Mr. Garrison, "the day after his arrival [June 18], and Mr. Garrison having alluded to the exclusion of the women, he exclaimed, 'It was a cowardly sacrifice of principle to a vulgar prejudice'" ('Memorial of Geo. Bradburn,' p. 77).

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"I have a consciousness that I have not done *my* duty in not sooner urging these considerations on the Convention. My excuse is, that I was unavoidably absent during the discussion of the subject."[1]

Lib. 11:25. *Lib.* 10:130.

The results of the World's Convention do not immediately concern this biography. The discussion of the relations of the church to slavery and slave-owners (in which Birney, Colver, and Stanton, in particular, advocated the strongest measures of non-fellowship), and the resolutions adopted for communication to Christian bodies throughout the world — denouncing slavery as a sin, reprobating the culpable connivance of the American churches with it, and urging them, as an incumbent duty, to excommunicate the holders of slaves — could not fail to accelerate the divisions already growing apace in the great religious denominations of the United States. Similar remonstrances were subsequently despatched across the water by the Congregational Union of Scotland, by the students attending the Theological Hall of the Relief Synod, at Paisley, and even by separate congregations. More exasperating to the South was the transmission of special resolutions of the Convention, signed by Clarkson, on the inter-State slave trade, to the Southern governors, who took notice of them either to the member of Congress who franked them,[2] or to their

Lib. 10:181. *Lib.* 10:197. *Lib.* 10:185, 186.

[1] The Quaker Richard Allen writes from Dublin on Sept. 1, 1840, to Mr. Garrison: "I, yesterday evening, paid an interesting visit to Theobald Mathew, the great apostle of Temperance, better known as 'Father Mathew.' . . . He expressed much regret at the exclusion of the woman delegates at the Conference, and asked me, with much interest, had I been there" (MS., and *Lib.* 10:155. Compare 'Memorial of Geo. Bradburn,' p. 125).

[2] Hon. Seth M. Gates, a Representative from New York. The following letter, addressed by him to Mr. Garrison on the eve of the Paris World's Anti-Slavery Convention, possesses much interest. It bears date Warsaw, N. Y., April 23, 1867:

"As you are soon to go to another World's Convention, allow me to send you, by way of reminder, a copy of the circular adopted by a like World's Anti-Slavery Convention held in London June 12th, 1840, addressed to the governors of the slaveholding States of the U. S. of America, and which produced such a sensation in the South because it was forwarded under the *frank* of a member of Congress.

respective legislatures. But, after all, it was the ironical fate of the Convention to stand rather as a landmark in the history of the woman question, than in that of abolition.[1] For in respect to the grand theatre of the world's anti-slavery struggle, the British and Foreign Society were destined to intervene as obstructionists. "They will now, I think," wrote Mr. Phillips prophetically in June, "take sides in our disputes; . . . and they will take sides, most of them, with the new organization. I except the Scottish and the Irish Friends." CHAP. VII. 1840. *Lib.* 10:119.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

LONDON, June 29, 1840. *MS.*

I have now been in London eleven days, and, for the first time since my arrival, take up my pen to send you a hasty epistle by the *British Queen* — having been too busy to despatch any letters home until now. . . .

The first thing which you and the household, and all our anti-slavery friends, will wish to hear about, is the Convention. On the score of respectability, talent and numbers, it deserves

"At the request of Mr. Lewis Tappan, I transmitted them through the mails free of postage under my frank, for which act of 'treason to the Government,' as Gov. Polk was pleased to call it [*Lib.* 10:185], no less than five of these Southern governors either mentioned the outrage in messages to their respective legislatures, or published letters over their own signatures in the newspapers, complaining of this outrageous attack upon Southern institutions. Gov. Pennington, of New Jersey, of all to whom it was addressed, answered it respectfully, and concurred in the general sentiments of the address [*Lib.* 10:185].

"Gov. McDonald, of Georgia, says: 'This is a subject which, with the object intended to be accomplished by it, admits of no argument; and all who seek to agitate it and carry out the above purpose, either by courting foreign alliances or the use of other means, shall be regarded and treated as public enemies, outlaws and traitors'" (MS.).

The copy referred to by Mr. Gates was sent back to him by the Governor of the Territory of Florida, R. R. Reid, with this endorsement:

"Returned with pity for the ignorance or fanaticism — perhaps both — and with horror at the *unholy purposes*, of the General Anti-Slavery Convention."

[1] It is commonly treated, with some injustice to the Grimkés, as the initial cause of the woman-suffrage movement in the United States as well as in England. See chap. 3, p. 62, in vol. 1, of Mrs. Stanton's 'History of Woman Suffrage.'

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much consideration; but it was sadly deficient in freedom of thought, speech and action, having been under the exclusive management of the London Committee, whose dominion was recognized as absolute. . . .

I am quite certain, from all that has transpired, that, had we arrived a few days before the opening of the Convention, we could have carried our point triumphantly. As it is, we have not visited this country in vain. The "woman question" has been fairly started, and will be canvassed from the Land's End to John o' Groat's house. Already, many excellent and noble minds are highly displeased at the decision of the Convention, and denounce it strongly. The new organizers have done what they could to injure us, and have succeeded in creating some prejudice against us, especially on the part of the clergy; but the effect will be temporary. We have all been treated with the utmost respect and hospitality, and invitations to go here and there are pouring in upon us from all quarters.

Lib. 10:119, 121; *Memorial of Geo. Bradburn, p.* 77.

An excellent Protest against the exclusion of women was drawn up by Prof. Adam, and signed by himself, Phillips, Bradburn, Mott, Col. Miller, etc., and presented to the Convention, which, on motion of Colver, seconded by Scoble, was laid

Lib. 10:151.

on the table, and refused a place among the printed proceedings![1] We, who refused to connect ourselves with the Convention, shall have a separate Protest of our own, which we shall publish in some one of the London newspapers. Rely upon it, we have acted most wisely in this matter; but I cannot now go into particulars.

For the proceedings of the Convention, I refer you to the papers accompanying this. It was in session only ten days, but

June 24, 1840.

disposed of a considerable amount of business. On Wednesday,

Lib. 10:119, 121.

a public meeting was held in Exeter Hall, and went off with great éclat. The assembly was immense, and the various speakers were received in the most enthusiastic manner. When O'Connell made his appearance, the applause was

Lib. 10:121.

absolutely deafening. He made a speech of great power, and denounced American slaveholders in blistering language — at the same time paying the highest compliments to American abolitionists. No invitation was given to Thompson, Phillips, or myself, to speak; but Birney was assigned a part, and so

[1] "This," says Bradburn, who was indefatigable in combating it ('Memorial,' p. 77), "I deemed the most oppressive act of the Convention, and denounced it as an act which the most thorough-paced slaveholders in America would have been ashamed to perpetrate."

was Stanton.[1] Remond stepped forward of his own accord, and was repeatedly cheered by the audience. He took them by surprise and acquitted himself very creditably. Prejudice against color is unknown here.

Rogers and I have boarded at the same house with Stanton and his wife, Colver, Grosvenor, James and Lucretia Mott, Isaac Winslow and daughter, Abby Southwick, (who are all well), and several other delegates.[2] Mrs. Stanton is a fearless woman, and goes for woman's rights with all her soul. Stanton voted right in Convention on the question. We have been to see Westminster Abbey, the Museum, the Tunnel, the Tower,[3] St. Paul's, etc., etc. The talk now is, that we shall leave for Scotland in the course of a week, under the care and guidance of George Thompson. I feel considerable curiosity to see Glasgow and Edinburgh, and the Scottish highlands; yet can I truly say, "There's no place like home." Some of the Irish delegates insist upon it that I shall take a trip to Ireland. Perhaps we may conclude to visit Dublin. I have shaken hands with O'Connell repeatedly.[4]

Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

A thousand thanks for your affectionate letter, received by the *British Queen*. Every line it contained was full of interest,

[1] The occasion was the anniversary of the British and Foreign A. S. Society. Mr. Phillips wrote to Oliver Johnson (*Lib.* 10:119): "You will hardly believe me when I say, that abolitionists could meet in Exeter Hall to hear of American slavery, and place on their list of speakers the names of Stanton and Birney, and forget that man, sitting silent beside them, to whom it was owing that Birney and Stanton, as abolitionists, had a being — indeed, that there was anything like American abolition at all. Garrison was not asked to speak in Exeter Hall. One who sat by me was reproved for calling for him. Do you want any other index of its abolitionism? I was almost startled to hear Stanton announced there as Secretary of the *American and Foreign* Anti-Slavery Society. We had been battling for a fortnight with the domineering, exclusive, narrow spirit of the *British and Foreign* Anti-Slavery Society, and, in spite of myself, my mind could not but associate them together. Further thought only strengthens the resemblance."

[2] At Mark Moore's, No. 6 Queen St. Place, Southwark Bridge, Cheapside ('Life of J. and L. Mott,' p. 149).

[3] "'Let us write PEACE ON EARTH AND GOOD WILL TO MEN on the "outer wall"!' cried Garrison, as we gazed on the gloomy old receptacle, as we left it" (N. P. Rogers, *Lib.* 10:143).

[4] In this year O'Connell began his famous agitation for "Repeal." Mr. Garrison related that he, together with friends, one day called upon him, and as it was known that he was about to make an important speech in Parliament, they feared to find him busy. He was, on the contrary, taking a rest before going to the House of Commons, and, stretched upon a sofa, was enjoying one of Dickens's novels.

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and served greatly to relieve my mind from a heavy load of anxiety. May all things go prosperously with you, dearest! And may the protection of Heaven be graciously vouchsafed to the dear children, and to us all! My heart is swelling with tender emotions. O, how I yearn to clasp you in my arms!

I have been introduced to Lady Byron, the Countess of Brunswick, Mrs. Opie, Mary and William Howitt, Elizabeth Fry, Anna Braithwaite,[1] and other noted women. A splendid soirée has been given to the foreign delegates, at which I spoke.[2] Several elegant entertainments have also been made for us.[3] I let out all my heresies, in my intercourse with those who invite us together, and have made no little stir in consequence.[4] Slavery out of the question, our country is a century in advance of England on the score of reform, and of general intelligence and morality. We, in New England, scarcely dream of the privileges we enjoy, and the enviable condition in which we are placed, as contrasted with the state of things here.

Life of J. and L. Mott, p. 159.

[1] A dinner on June 20 at Isaac and Anne Braithwaite's lodgings, "in company with Garrison, Rogers, whom I like better and better, and others," is recorded by Mrs. Mott in her diary ('Life,' p. 158).

[2] At the Crown and Anchor Tavern. "Stanton made the first speech. He was followed by M. Duclos de Boussais in a very brief speech. Next came Garrison, who talked of 'woman's rights'— blaming the Convention for its disregard of them — of universal suffrage in Ireland, and the necessity of a universal language" ('Memorial of G. Bradburn,' p. 95). William Adams's report ran (*Lib.* 10:127): "At a soirée, W. L. Garrison was so loudly called for by the people that he stepped forward, and bore a faithful testimony against the unfaithfulness of the friends of the cause who went to America, and did not do their duty on that subject while there; especially Joseph John Gurney, Drs. Cox, Hoby, &c. He spoke fearlessly of the conduct of the Committee in calling such a Convention, and then denying it; also of war, and of woman slavery, which had been exercised over the female delegates. Our new organizers made no reply."

[3] As at William Ball's, Tottenham, on June 25, where "William L. Garrison spoke at length, very well," *teste* Mrs. Mott ('Life,' p. 162).

[4] Thus, William H. Ashurst to Mr. Garrison, on June 30: "If you have a copy of the pamphlet upon non-resistance which you read at my house, to spare, or can tell me where I can procure it in this country, may I trouble you just to drop me a line, saying in so many words it may be had in such a place! Pray make arrangements so that I shall receive from America the *Liberator* for the next twelve months, and tell me unto whom and how I shall remit my subscription. I should like to arrange also to receive from America a copy of anything that shall appear officially, or from any of our known friends, upon the woman question. Their emancipation from serfdom is next in importance to the slavery question" (MS.).

Dear Thompson has not been strengthened to do battle for us, as I had confidently hoped he would be. He is placed in a difficult position,[1] and seems disposed to take the ground of non-committal, publicly, respecting the controversy which is going on in the United States. Yet I trust he will soon see his way clear to speak out in our behalf.

Perhaps I may conclude to return home in the *Great Western*, which is to sail from Bristol on the 25th July. If not, I shall aim to take the steamer *Acadia*, for Boston via Halifax, 4th August.

I am waiting, with all a husband's and a parent's anxiety, to hear from you. May the intelligence prove pleasurable to my soul! Dearest, I am

YOUR LOVING HUSBAND.

London retained its hold on Mr. Garrison for another fortnight. On the day the above letter was written, he made one of the garden party at Ham House, meeting again his good friend Fowell Buxton[2] and family, Elizabeth Fry and her family, Lord Morpeth, the Duchess of Sutherland, and many other Quaker and non-Quaker friends of the host, Samuel Gurney. But let us hear Mr. Garrison's account:

Life of J. and L. Mott, p. 163.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

LONDON, July 3, 1840. *MS.*

Yesterday morning I was joyfully electrified by the receipt of a letter from bro. Johnson, giving me the intelligence of your safe delivery of a fine boy on the 4th ult. Everything appears to have transpired in the best possible manner. The relief which has been given to my anxious mind is more than words can express. Most sincere and heartfelt is my gratitude to the Giver of every good and perfect gift. James and Lucretia Mott, Isaac Winslow and company, and many other friends, both English and American, are pouring in their con-

Oliver Johnson.

[1] Miss Harriet Gairdner wrote from Edinburgh on Nov. 25, 1840, to J. A. Collins, that Thompson was not his own master while in the employ of the British India Committee, and was obliged to have regard to his family necessities.

[2] On this visit to England, Buxton presented him with a copy of his work on 'The African Slave-Trade and its Remedy,' with an autograph inscription.

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gratulations. What name shall be given to our new comer? is the question. I will not attempt to decide, until my return. Elizabeth Neall says, Call him Charles Follen Garrison. Lucretia Mott and bro. Rogers think the name should be Edmund Quincy Garrison. There are many dear friends, and many good names, from which to make a selection. The lock of hair forwarded by bro. J. is pronounced by all to be very beautiful, and I gaze upon it with rapturous delight. The babe is a boy—ah! you are disappointed, and so am I; for we had both fondly hoped that it would prove to be a girl. But the gift is none the less precious, and I am thankful, very thankful for it. Bro. J. intimates that the lad has uncommonly good lungs, and thinks he may be heard almost across the Atlantic. He begins early to make a noise in the world. O that I had him in my arms to smother him (not quite) with kisses! . . .

Oliver Johnson.

I had made up my mind to return to-morrow in the steamer *Britannia*, which sails from Liverpool for Boston; but, at the solicitations of the British friends, and especially to gratify dear Rogers, who wishes to see Scotland before his return, I have concluded to stay another month, and *(Deo volente)* shall sail from Liverpool for Boston in the steamer *Acadia*, on the 4th of August; so that I shall hope to embrace you by the 20th of next month. After the receipt of this, therefore, it will be useless to send me any letters or papers, as I shall have left for home before their arrival. Along with bro. J.'s letter came a *Liberator* of June 12th, which was a real treat. I have also received a copy of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*,[1] and of the *Emancipator* of 12th ult. Bro. Rogers is exceedingly anxious to hear from his wife, and to get hold of a copy of the *Herald of Freedom*. The intelligence of the victory over "new organization" in New Hampshire makes him feel twenty years younger. I do not believe he can be induced to leave his Granite Hills, and take charge of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*. He shrinks from the post, on account of its vast responsibility, but especially because of his strong attachment for his native State. Our friends will do well to have some other person in view, in case he cannot be induced to leave his little *Herald*. I shall do what I can to locate him in New York.

Lib. 10:94.

Nearly all our party are stopping at the same house. We have more invitations than we can meet, and can find no time either to read or write,—scarcely any to sleep. I am com-

[1] The organ of the new American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (*Lib.* 10:91).

pletely worn out. The hospitality of our English friends is unbounded. Several splendid entertainments have been given to us—one, by the celebrated Mrs. Opie, and another by the rich Quaker banker, Samuel Gurney. He sent seven barouches to convey us to his residence, (one of the most beautiful in the world), a few miles from the city; and a great sensation did we produce as we paraded through the streets of London. The dinner was magnificent, and all the arrangements on the most liberal and elegant scale.

July 2, 1840; *Life of J. and L. Mott, p.* 165.

June 29, 1840.

After the banquet was over, we had several speeches — one from Buxton, another from Birney, another from myself, &c. The Duchess of Sutherland, (who ranks next to the Queen, and is celebrated for her beauty), accompanied by her daughter, an interesting young lady,[1] and Lord Morpeth,[2] honored us with their presence. The Duchess came in a splendid barouche, drawn by four fine horses, with postillions, etc. She behaved very graciously, and, on parting, shook me cordially by the hand. She has given £20 to aid the fugitive slaves in Upper Canada. Her husband is the richest man in the kingdom, and she is noted for her liberality. She has since expressed a wish to have an interview with me; but I think it doubtful whether I shall find time to call. Haydon, the celebrated artist, is now engaged in making a painting of the Convention, 10 feet by 7, in which he will group the most distinguished personages who were present, nearly as they sat in that body. His portraits will be from life. He has already taken a large number, and has succeeded admirably. I shall sit to him to-morrow for my likeness — a copy of which has been spoken for by the Duchess aforesaid. (Don't you be jealous!) I have seen Lady Byron repeatedly, and the day before yesterday took dinner and tea with her at the house of Mrs. Reid, an opulent Unitarian lady.[3]

Lib. 11:195.

Benj. Robert Haydon.

July 1, 1840.

Elizabeth J. Reid.

[1] Afterwards the Duchess of Argyll.

[2] Brother of the Duchess of Sutherland. Of this enlightened nobleman Mr. Garrison afterwards wrote (*Lib.* 11:195): "We were highly pleased with his republican manners, urbanity of spirit, good sense, unostentatious deportment and intelligent mind." "An unsolicited and equally unexpected act of personal respect and kindness" towards Mr. Garrison was Lord Morpeth's giving him a letter of introduction to a Government official at the Castle in Dublin, on learning of his intention to visit Ireland.

[3] "Dined at E. Reid's with Lady Byron," writes Mrs. Mott in her diary. "Wm. L. Garrison, N. P. Rogers, Remond, Dr. Hutton and wife, and many others to tea. Much conversation on housekeeping, neglect of families, and woman's proper sphere: a very pleasant visit" ('Life of J. and L. Mott,' p. 164). Dr. Hutton was the principal Unitarian clergyman of London ('Memorial of G. Bradburn,' pp. 109–111).

C. L. Remond. I would just add, that our colored friend Remond invariably accompanies us, and is a great favorite in every circle. Surely, if dukes, lords, duchesses, and the like, are not ashamed to eat, sit, walk and talk with colored Americans, the *democrats* of our country need not deem it a vulgar or odious thing to do likewise. Charles made a short but good speech in Exeter Hall the other day. The Duchess of Sutherland has signified her wish to see him also at her palace. You see how abolitionism is rising in the world! Lucretia Mott is winning "golden opinions" on all sides, in spite of the ceaseless efforts of the Orthodox Quakers to obstruct her course, because she is a Hicksite. She has spoken once in public, and is to speak again shortly. On Monday, there is to be a meeting at Freemasons' Hall, on the subject of India, at which O'Connell, Bowring, Thompson, myself, and others, are expected to speak. On the evening of the same day, there is to be a temperance meeting in Exeter Hall — Rogers is to be among the speakers. Perhaps I may say something on the occasion. On Tuesday, I shall go with Rogers down to Ipswich, (70 or 80 miles), to see Clarkson, and get him to come out with a letter against the Colonization Society, if I can. He says Cresson deceived him.[1] I shall return on Wednesday or Thursday, and shall probably leave London with Geo. Thompson and Rogers, on Friday, for Scotland,— going first to Tynemouth, near Newcastle, to spend a day with Harriet Martineau. I shall try to send you a letter by the *Great Western*, on the 25th inst. Mrs. Thompson is near her confinement. She is in Edinburgh, with her children. There is to be a great meeting in Glasgow on the 1st of August, which I shall probably attend. I shall also go to Ireland. . . .

C. L. Remond. Ante, p. 383.

Ante, p. 375.

July 6, 1840.

July 7, 1840.

Elliott Cresson.

I long to get back, dearest, and mingle in the glorious conflict which is going on in our country. Tell bro. J. to bear an open front and a serene countenance, and fear nothing; for,

Oliver Johnson.

[1] Mr. Garrison's engagements prevented his making the intended visit, but in September he had the supreme gratification of publishing in the *Liberator* (10:154) Clarkson's renunciation of the Colonization Society. He apologized for any shortcomings in his reception of Mr. Garrison in 1833, and showed both how Cresson had hoodwinked him, and how he had regained a clear vision as to the "diabolical scheme." This important manifesto was forwarded by Elizabeth Pease on Sept. 3. It was begun in July (MS. [July] 18, 1840, E. Pease to W. L. G.) "It is," said Mr. Garrison, "one of the results of our mission to England, and is alone a rich compensation for all the expense and trouble incurred by that mission" (*Lib.* 10:155).

in due time, we shall reap, if we faint not. I have just seen the first number of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*. It is a beautifully printed sheet, and makes a fine appearance. I am afraid, however, that it will cripple the circulation of the *Liberator*, by being put at so low a rate. . . . CHAP. VII. 1840.

The sittings to Haydon were too characteristic — on both sides — to be passed over. We read in the painter's diary:

"[June] 30th.— Scobell [*sic* for the Rev. John Scoble] called. I said, 'I shall place you, Thompson, and the negro together.' Now an abolitionist on thorough principle would have gloried in being so placed. This was the touchstone. He sophisticated immediately on the propriety of placing the negro in the distance, as it would have much greater effect. *Life of Haydon*, 3 : 157.

"Now I, who have never troubled myself in this cause, gloried in the imagination of placing the negro close by his emancipator. The emancipator shrank. I'll do it though. If I do not, d—— me.[1]

"Lloyd Garrison comes to-day. I'll try him, and this shall be my method of ascertaining the real heart.

"Garrison sat, and I succeeded and hit him. I asked him, and he met me at once directly. George Thompson said he saw no objection. But that was not enough. A man who wishes to place the negro on a level must no longer regard him as having been a slave, and feel annoyed at sitting by his side."

Upon the heels of this sitting, the first of the following letters must have been despatched:

B. R. Haydon to W. L. Garrison.

June 30th, 1840. *MS.*

I shall not sacrifice your *fine* head to a background; therefore, still with the women (I put you *life* size). Come alone the next time, and spend as much time as you can — in fact, dine with us *en famille* — so that I may have you all day, and

[1] This expletive calls for the entry of the day before: "29th.— Lucretia Mott, the leader of the delegate women from America, sat. I found her out to have infidel notions, and resolved at once, narrow-minded or not, not to give her the prominent place I first intended. I will reserve that for a beautiful believer in the Divinity of Christ."

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finish you. Fix a day yourself next week, and *keep it* — except *Thursday*. Let me know immediately.

The Duchess of Sutherland is so pleased, she has requested me to make a sketch for her, so we will try our hand again, and she shall take her choice.—What I mean is this: I shall put your head close to the Veiled Quakeress, the size of life, and still Truth will not be sacrificed. Do not delay letting me know.

Wednesday evening. MS.

July 1, 1840.

The Duchess of Sutherland wishes to see you. Let me beg of you to call as soon [as] you can. She is a fine, noble-hearted creature, and is entitled to every respect and attention from every Man of Genius in the world.

Let me, if possible, see you after, to arrange your sitting for her. About 12 will find her. Do not *delay*.

Haydon's diary continues:

Life of Haydon, 3:158. *Anne Knight.*

"[July] 4th.[1] . . . Made a drawing of Garrison for the Duchess of Sutherland, and sketched Miss Knight.

"[July] 9th.[1] Hard at work and well advanced. The Americans are intruding and inquisitive. I have great trouble to parry them, except Garrison. Garrison sat to-day after calling and seeing the Duchess of Sutherland, with whom he was delighted. Household and Duchess bewildered his republican faculties."

Life of J. and L. Mott, p. 166. *Ibid., p.* 164. *Ibid., p.* 231. *Ibid., p.* 166.

Between these sittings, on July 5, Mr. Garrison dined again with his friend Ashurst, meeting Robert Owen, who had previously called upon him,—at which "our dear Elizabeth Pease, and some others, quaked with fear, lest it might give us a bad name," as Mrs. Mott records. And she also says of the dinner: "Talk, of paying priests' demands and military fines; not quite satisfied with Wm. L. G.'s views.[2] William Ashurst gave

[1] It seems necessary to correct these dates (in accordance with Mr. Garrison's letter of July 3, Haydon's urgency, and his sitter's known whereabouts) from July 14 and 19 respectively, as printed in Tom Taylor's 'Life of Haydon.'

[2] As to military fines, these are doubtless the same as expressed by the editor of the *Liberator* (10:27) in a letter to Charles Stearns, imprisoned in Connecticut for refusal to train or to pay a fine. "If, in paying a military fine, you countenance the militia system, then, in paying your ordinary

an interesting account of his efforts to establish the penny-postage law." On July 6, at Freemasons' Hall, on occasion of the first anniversary of the British India Society, Mr. Garrison spoke sympathetically, offering as an excuse for interfering with British affairs the plea: "It was because he HAD *looked at home* that he was there that day." The extent to which he shared the generous illusion as to the possible agency of British India in the abolition of American slavery, is manifested in the following remarkable letter, written just on the eve of his departure from England:

See Ashurst in L. Stephen's Dic. Nat. Biog.

Lib. 10: 141.

W. L. Garrison to Joseph Pease.

LIVERPOOL, August 3, 1840. *MS.*

ESTEEMED FRIEND: At your request, I sit down to give you my opinion as to the prospect of the speedy and peaceable overthrow of slavery in the United States. Let me say, then—

1. That Christianity sanctions the use of nothing but moral and religious means and measures for the suppression of any sin, or the overthrow of any system of iniquity—in other words, it forbids the doing of evil that good may come, however vast the good to be achieved, or small the evil to be resorted to for its accomplishment. To bring the products of free labor into competition with those of slave labor, and thus secure the abolition of slavery and the slave trade throughout the world, is a peaceable, legitimate, and Christian measure, which commends itself to the approval of all good men.

2. That there is not any instance recorded, either in sacred or profane history, in which the oppressors and enslavers of mankind, except in individual cases, have been induced, by mere moral suasion, to surrender their despotic power, and let the oppressed go free; but, in nearly every instance, from the time that Pharaoh and his hosts were drowned in the Red Sea, down to

taxes to Government, you sanction its rightful authority and are responsible for its acts. But, I conceive, it is not so. In neither case do you *necessarily* manifest your approval. You submit to pay tribute, be it ever so unjust, or for whatever purpose it may be used by Government—in accordance with the injunction of the apostle: 'not only for wrath, but for conscience' sake.' This is gospel non-resistance. At the same time you bear your testimony against whatever is sinful in the Government or the people, at whatever peril to your person or property."

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the present day, they have persisted in their evil course until sudden destruction came upon them, or they were compelled to surrender their ill-gotten power in some other manner.

3. That the emancipation of the eight hundred thousand bondmen in the British West India Colonies forms no exception to this lamentable truth—as it was effected by the colossal power of the mother country, and in opposition to the feelings and wishes of the West India planters. That power, it is true, was stirred up by the moral and religious action of the people of England; but, had the liberation of the West India slaves depended upon the triumph of moral suasion *in the colonies* over the depravity of the planters, there is not the slightest probability that it would have taken place. Indeed, it is certain that the planters would never have allowed any anti-slavery agitation among them. The mere suspicion, a few years since, that the Wesleyan and Baptist missionaries sympathized with the slave population, and were hostile to slavery, raised such a tempest of fury against them that their chapels were ruthlessly destroyed, and they were either cast into prison or compelled to flee for their lives. The slaveholding power, wherever it holds absolute sway, will never tolerate any movement for its overthrow. There is, therefore, no liberty of speech or of the press in the slave States of America, and, consequently, no chance for the exercise of moral influence against slavery in that section of the country.

4. That, of all oppressors and tyrants who have cursed and afflicted mankind, none have ever equalled the enslavers of the colored race,—*especially American republican slaveholders*,—in ferociousness of spirit, moral turpitude of character, and desperate depravity of heart. I regard their conversion, as a body, to the side of bleeding humanity, by appeals to their understandings, consciences, and hearts, about as hopeless as any attempt to transform wolves and hyenas into lambs and doves, by the same process. Their understandings have become brutish, their consciences seared as with a hot iron, and their hearts harder than adamant.

5. That nothing will induce them to manumit their slaves but an utter inability to compete with the labor of freemen, in raising those productions which now give life and sustenance to the slave system; in connection with a rectified public sentiment, that shall everywhere regard them as the deadliest enemies of the human race.

6. That it is by the cultivation of cotton alone, and the purchase of that article by British manufacturers, that American slavery puts at defiance the opinions of the civilized world, baffles the efforts of the abolitionists of England and America for its speedy overthrow, and raises an impenetrable wall of defence against the attacks of its enemies.

7. That if England would supply herself with free cotton from some other part of the world, to the exclusion of all slave-grown cotton, it is quite certain that, within seven years, American slavery would be peaceably abolished, from absolute necessity, as well as from the moral change which will by that time have been wrought in the free States of America, in opposition to that hideous system of plunder and outrage.

8. That it now seems to be placed beyond all doubt that cotton can be grown by free labor, at a much less expense, and in far greater abundance, in British India, than it is now done by slave labor in the United States: hence, that England, as a matter of self-interest, as well as on the score of humanity, should without delay redress the wrongs of India, give protection and encouragement to its oppressed and suffering population, and thus obtain a cheap, permanent and abundant supply of free cotton from her own vast and fertile possessions in the East.

I am sure that your British India movement will fill the hearts of American slaveholders with dismay.[1] May speedy and complete success attend it!—I see no reason why it should not receive the zealous and hearty support of the friends of humanity in Great Britain, especially of all genuine abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic. For all that you are doing to promote it, (and no man can be doing more), and for all your

[1] Mr. Garrison was able to verify this prediction upon his return. He writes to Joseph Pease, at Darlington, on Sept. 1, 1840 (MS.): "Already, there is much consternation on this side of the Atlantic, among the planters and their Northern adherents, in relation to that [British-India] movement. My eye at this moment rests upon a copy of the New York *Herald* (a violent pro-slavery journal), in which a tocsin of alarm is sounded in the ears of the slaveholding States. The editor cries out lustily against 'the villanous designs of the abolitionists to destroy the interests of the Southern planter,' and adds—'Much as we detest the conduct and principles of the insurgent and scandalous abolitionists, we feel bound to give them, [*i. e.*, the facts in relation to your India movement], in order to put our Southern friends on their guard against the infamous designs of these crazy scoundrels.' This is a high panegyric upon your proceedings, and should mightily encourage you to go forward in your great work of human redemption."

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previous efforts in the cause of West India emancipation, I honor and praise you. Be not weary in well-doing, and you cannot fail of success. The case is one of great urgency. Let no time be lost, therefore, in laying all the facts respecting India before the people. Those facts can never be listened to with indifference by them, but will cause their hearts to burn like fire. They will rally *en masse* under the broad banner of universal emancipation, and their motto will be—"Justice for India! Freedom for the American slave! Prosperity to England! Good will to all mankind!"

Herald of Freedom, 6: 116.

Almost the last glimpse we get of Garrison and Rogers in London is at a juvenile concert on the evening of July 9, in accordance with the following invitation from the director, which gives the genesis of a well-known stirring song:

W. E. Hickson to W. L. Garrison.

12 *Park Lane. MS.*

July 8, 1840.

As you will naturally feel interested in whatever relates to the improvement of society, and to the efforts making for the moral regeneration of the humble classes of the community, whether white or colored, I take the liberty of sending you two of our reports, that you may see what use we are making of one of the most powerful levers by which the masses have ever been moved.

It occurred to me, the other day, that perhaps even your own peculiar cause, the cause of the extinction of slavery, might be served by means of music, and therefore I composed a song (which I also enclose) calculated to sustain that moral courage without which the object will never be effected.

The chorus is very simple, but very spirited and pleasing, and if, when you return to America, you can induce congregations of two or three thousand persons to sing 'God Speed the Right' after the close of a powerful address on slavery, you will find a spirit of enthusiasm created, not, perhaps, easily excited by other means.

I further take the liberty to invite you to one of our popular local concerts, at which 'God Speed the Right' will be sung. I hope, also, Mrs. Mott will be able to attend with you, though I am rather doubtful whether she would allow music to be used as a means of influence even in a good cause.[1]

[1] Mrs. Mott's absence was better accounted for by her having an engagement to tea at Dr. Bowring's ('Life,' p. 166).

On July 10, "J. Scoble called about the Protest, and spake unadvisedly with his lips to Garrison." And after this date we know only that about the middle of the month the latter, with Rogers, Remond, and Thompson, began by rail their pilgrimage to "the gray metropolis of the North." Rogers is the graphic chronicler of this journey, on which the first stopping-place was Sheffield, where the hospitalities of the Rawsons at Wincobank Hall were enjoyed, and acquaintance made with the "beloved bard of negro freedom," James Montgomery. Thence the route led to York and to Newcastle-on-Tyne, for the sake of visiting Harriet Martineau, then writing the 'Hour and the Man,' at Tynemouth. In the early morning of July 20, the fellow-travellers, less Thompson and Remond, who had gone before, mounted the coach at the Turf Hotel for Melrose, where the Abbey was explored in the twilight. On the following day they arrived at Thompson's door in Edinburgh.[1]

Life of J. and L. Mott, p. 167.

Herald of Freedom, 6:134, 118, 142.

So far from being allowed to rest, they were at once drawn into a fresh round of private entertainment and public meetings. In the afternoon of July 21, they dined with Dr. Beilby, a leading physician of the town, having as fellow-guests his more distinguished medical brother Dr. John Abercrombie, and Adam Black, of the *Quarterly Review*. In the evening they were impressed both as spectators and as speakers for a Rechabite teetotal festival in Dun Edin Hall:

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

EDINBURGH, July 23, 1840. *MS.*

I am now in the capital city of world-famous Scotland, having arrived from London the day before yesterday, in company with Geo. Thompson, N. P. Rogers, and C. L. Remond. . . .

Much do I regret — and in this regret there are thousands in England, Scotland and Ireland who deeply participate — that I have not more time to spend in this country, with a just regard to the best interests of the anti-slavery cause in the United

[1] 8 Duncan Street, Newington.

CHAP. VII. 1840.

States, and to the claims which a loving wife and growing family have upon me, especially at this great crisis. Though the spirit of new organization has poisoned many in England, and found other unclean spirits congenial with its own, yet the kind, and, in several instances, the enthusiastic, manner in which I have been received by the people, has made a very deep impression upon my memory, which time can never efface. It has been my privilege to become acquainted with some of the noblest spirits of the age, both men and women; and much do they sympathize with us in the arduous struggle we are making in America against slavery, and its formidable ally, sectarianism. Among the meetings it has been my happiness to attend, was a temperance meeting in Exeter Hall, (the largest and most enthusiastic I ever saw), at which that sturdy champion of Irish liberty, and most wonderful among the statesmen and orators of the age, Daniel O'Connell, made a powerful speech in favor of the doctrine of total abstinence. He was received with a storm of applause that almost shook the building to its foundations. The spectacle was sublime and heart-stirring beyond all power of description on my part. George Thompson, N. P. Rogers, and myself addressed the immense concourse, and were flatteringly received; as were also Rev. Messrs. Grosvenor and Galusha. I shall send a report of some of the speeches to bro. Johnson, which appears in the *Temperance Journal*. As I had no opportunity to revise the sketch made by the reporter, you must take it as you find it.

Ante, p. 388.

Oliver Johnson.

July 21, 1840.

It has also been my privilege to attend a similar meeting in Edinburgh. On arriving in this city on Tuesday afternoon, and carelessly walking through the streets, I observed placards conspicuously posted in various directions, stating that Geo. Thompson, C. L. Remond, and W. L. Garrison were in the city, and would be present at the temperance meeting that evening, and address the auditory! Though I had not been consulted by any one on the subject, and was wholly taken by surprise, yet I felt that I could not, as a professed friend of bleeding humanity, as a thorough "teetotaller" of fourteen years' standing, as an American citizen, refuse to lift up my voice in favor of the first great moral enterprise which I ever publicly espoused,—especially as I was told that, as yet, in Scotland, it had made comparatively small progress, and was generally treated by "gentlemen of property and standing," and the priesthood, very much as the anti-slavery cause is by those classes in the United States. Our friends Thompson, Rogers,

and Remond accompanied me to the meeting, and made excellent speeches. A glorious sight it was to behold! There were about two thousand persons present — and never was there assembled, on any occasion, a more interesting or enthusiastic multitude. On our entering the hall, they received us with cheers and deafening applause, which were renewed as we severally proceeded to make our addresses. You may form some faint idea of the spirit which animated the crowded assembly, when I tell you that the meeting commenced at 7 o'clock in the evening, and did not disperse until 2 o'clock in the morning! There was no appearance of fatigue or drowsiness to the end, except on the part of sundry little children and infants, who quietly slept in their mothers' arms. CHAP. VII. 1840.

To-morrow morning, a public breakfast is to be given to Rogers, Remond and myself, at which it is expected there will be a choice collection of some of the most respectable and eminent friends of humanity in Edinburgh. The honor is a very great one, and will be duly appreciated by us all.[1] We have been urged to have a public meeting, but time will not allow of it. To-morrow afternoon we shall make an excursion to the highlands,[2] and then proceed to Glasgow — at which place we expect to attend a great anti-slavery meeting on Monday evening next, which will be called expressly for our accommodation. We shall then proceed immediately to Dublin, and from thence to Liverpool. *Lib.* 10:134. *July* 24, 1840. *July* 27, 1840.

Though I like England much, on many accounts, I can truly say that I like Scotland better.

I have not written much for the *Liberator*, because it has been out of my power to do so — my engagements have been so numerous; and because I think it best to reserve what I have to say about this visit, and the London Convention, until my return. We are in the full enjoyment of health and in excellent spirits. . . .

The *Liberator* for June 12th and 19th has this moment been put into my hand, as well as the last number of the *Non-Resist-*

[1] It took place at the Royal Hotel, with Adam Black as second chairman (*Lib.* 10:142). The editor of the Edinburgh *Witness*, who had expected Mr. Garrison's manner to be bold and even boisterous, reported, on this occasion, that "His appearance as a speaker is exceedingly becoming — his manner is calm, gentlemanlike, and impressive — and his utterance polished and agreeable" (*Lib.* 10:134).

[2] The route was by way of Stirling and Callander, through the Trosachs, across Loch Katrine, "and over a rough defile to Loch Lomond"; thence to Glasgow (*Lib.* 11:147).

Oliver Johnson.

ant, and also a cheering letter from my beloved friend Johnson. The great moral conflict on our shores continues to increase in intensity, but, thanks be to God! I am glad to perceive no faltering on the part of the tried friends and champions of humanity. But, O! what heart-sickening, what astounding, what almost incredible developments of character are making on the part of those who have seceded from the old anti-slavery platform! Well, whatever is hidden must and should be made manifest in the light. If it must be so, let God be true, and every man a liar. I pant to be in the conflict, and at my old post, which I will be — *Deo volente* — in the course of four or five weeks.

Rom. iii. 4.

George Thompson is with us, in heart and spirit, and clearly perceives which party has truth, justice and freedom on its side in America.

Mr. Garrison had but two full days in Glasgow,[1] the first being Sunday, when, sight-seeing being out of the question, leisure was perhaps given to read the document referred to in the following letter:

W. L. Garrison to Marcus Gunn, Edinburgh.

MS.

GLASGOW, July 27, 1840.

In the midst of the most pressing engagements, I have found time to read your Essay on the Domestic Policy of the United States, and have been greatly pleased with it. It evinces much discrimination, and is a just exhibition of the superiority of the American form of government over every other now existing in the world. Its publication in this country, at the present time, I am inclined to think, would be serviceable to the sacred cause of human rights. A monarchy is accompanied by many evil and bitter things, and is destined to pass away, in the fulness of time, in whatever country it may at present be found. I am for no other change, however, than such as may be effected by peaceable and moral means; for "they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword." God grant a speedy deliverance to all mankind from all their burdens, and

[1] He was the guest with Rogers of Matthew Lethem, at "Albany Place" (*Herald of Freedom*, 7:39), and both again were indebted to William Smeal and John Murray, "two of the most active and zealous abolitionists in all Great Britain," for their "more than brotherly reception" (*Lib.* 10:142).

bring them under his own government, which is the best in all the universe!

As slavery in America is justly the reproach of that country, and tends to bring our republicanism into disrepute in Europe, I would suggest to you the propriety of adding to your Essay a burning rebuke on that subject; stating the important fact, that that horrible system is not the fruit of our republican form of government, but is contrary to it, and will yet be destroyed by the genius of republicanism.

Yours, for universal liberty.

On the evening of July 27, the American delegates (William Adams included) had a great public reception under the auspices of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, in Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel. George Thompson introduced his old friend as one who had long been an honorary member of the Society, and in the most brotherly terms reviewed his career and their former association. "Mr. W. L. Garrison then rose amid the most enthusiastic cheering and waving of handkerchiefs, to address the meeting," says the report. What was most characteristic in his remarks is thus related by the speaker himself. The Chartists had resolved to make use of the occasion to point a moral in their own behalf:

Ralph Wardlaw.

Lib. 10:137.

"On going to the meeting," says Mr. Garrison, "accompanied by a few friends, I observed a person standing at the door of the Chapel, distributing copies of a small handbill or placard. I took one, perused it, put it into my pocket, and resolved to read it to the meeting, without consulting any one — not even George Thompson, who sat at my right hand on the platform. In the course of my speech, I read it to the meeting in a deliberate and emphatic manner, as well as I knew how; which favor was, probably, not expected by its author, who signed himself, most inaccurately and improperly, 'A WHITE SLAVE.' . . .

Lib. 10:203.

"The placard was headed, '*Have we no white slaves?*' After reading the interrogation, I said in reply: 'No — broad as is the empire, and extensive as are the possessions of Great Britain, not a single *white* SLAVE can be found in them all'; and I then went on to show the wide difference that exists between the condition of human beings who are held and treated

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as chattels personal, and that of those who are only suffering from certain forms of political injustice or governmental oppression. . . . But, I said, although it is not true that England has any *white* slaves, either at home or abroad, is it not true that there are thousands of her population, both at home and abroad, who are deprived of their just rights — who are grievously oppressed — who are dying, even in the midst of abundance, of actual starvation? YES! And I expressly called upon British abolitionists to prove themselves the true friends of suffering humanity abroad, by showing that they were the best friends of suffering humanity at home. I asked, Are they not so? The response to this inquiry, from various parts of the Chapel, was — 'No! no! no!' 'Then,' I said, 'I am very sorry to hear it — I hope that it is not true of all of them — I am sure it is not true of the abolitionists of the United States, for they sympathize with the oppressed, as well as the enslaved, throughout the world.' More I also said, to the same effect. . . .

"They [the operatives and laborers of Great Britain and Ireland] are in a deplorable situation, and should have prompt and ample redress given for their wrongs. It was because of my deep sympathy for them — because I had understood that many of those who were so ready to denounce American slavery, refused to give any countenance to measures at home for the relief and elevation of the laboring classes, and I wished to rebuke them — that I read to the Glasgow audience the placard signed 'A White Slave.' I did not stop to inquire of any of those who surrounded me on the platform, whether it would be politic for me to read it; for I was resolved to make it of some service, both to my *enslaved* countrymen at home, and to my *suffering* brethren in England. . . .

"Towards the close of the meeting, an individual (well known as a Chartist) got on to the platform, and seemed both anxious and determined to make a speech; but the audience, probably anticipating what sort of a speech it would be, were unwilling to have him interrupt the regular proceedings, and compelled him to desist. I, for one, should have had no objection to his being heard; yet he was clearly out of order, and had no just cause to complain of the meeting. Since my return home, the Chartists and Socialists have successfully combined, in several instances, to take violent possession of meetings convened expressly for anti-slavery purposes, and to transform their character and design. Such

Lib. 10:157; 11:13.

conduct, though it may admit of some palliation, is both dastardly and criminal, and certainly most unwise and impolitic for themselves. In their struggle to obtain those rights and privileges which belong to them as men, and of which they are now ruthlessly deprived, I sympathize with all my heart, and wish them a speedy and complete victory! But I cannot approve of any rude behavior, or any resort to violence, to advance their cause; that cause is just, and can best be promoted by moral and peaceable instrumentalities — by appeals to reason, justice, and the law of God — by an unwavering reliance upon that truth which is mighty to the pulling-down of strongholds."

This fair and fearless treatment of a delicate question by a foreigner,[1] which the patient reader may contrast with the behavior of Drs. Cox and Hoby in the United States, was rewarded by the subsequent distribution, as a Chartist handbill, of a reproachful letter addressed to Mr. Garrison by Charles M'Ewan. He was charged, after having read the former handbill in full, with having "eluded its contents," and recommended self-reform as the first and most essential duty,— "as you were given to understand that a great amount of our suffering arose from intemperance." On the contrary, rejoined Mr. Garrison: "Those with whom I happened to become acquainted never opened their lips to me in regard to

Ante, 1:480.

Lib. 10:203.

Lib. 10:203.

[1] That the question had been present in Mr. Garrison's mind before leaving London, is shown by a letter of W. H. Ashurst's to him, dated July 26, 1840 (MS.): "What were the points of information you wanted, when you asked me what law book would give you information as to the oppressive laws by which the poor are bound down and made serfs in England? I supposed you needed it for use as an editor." "I could not enjoy the beautiful landscapes of England," writes Mr. Garrison to S. J. May, on Sept. 6, 1840 (MS.), "because of the suffering and want staring me in the face on the one hand, and the opulence and splendor dazzling my vision on the other." "I was much pleased," continues the same letter, "with Scotland — better pleased than with England. Her scenery, indeed, is not so beautiful, but it is far more grand and sublime; and she has enough of beauty to atone for what is wild and rude in her formation. I like her people better than I do the people of England: they are more like New Englanders in their appearance and manners. I was exceedingly pleased with the Irish friends I saw in Dublin, and received from them a welcome most cordial and ardent."

CHAP. VII. 1840. the intemperate habits of any class of men in the United Kingdom; but I had to open my lips to reprove them, in many instances, for using, and offering to me and others, intoxicating liquids! They will acknowledge that, in this particular at least, and on this subject, I was no respecter of persons; and my friend N. P. Rogers was no less faithful in bearing his testimony." Further, if those who surrounded Mr. Garrison on the platform (nearly all strangers) "were not friendly to the 'Teetotal Society,' they must have felt the rebuke that I administered on the occasion. I know, in fact, that it was felt by more than one distinguished individual."

Herald of Freedom, 7: 39. At ten o'clock on the morning of July 28, Garrison and Rogers bade good-bye to Glasgow, and shortly afterward to Thompson, Remond, William Smeal and John Murray, who had accompanied them to Greenock. From this port they crossed during the night to Dublin, arriving at ten the next morning. And here, says Rogers, "we found Irish and American[1] friends in prompt waiting for us at the landing, and in a few moments were bag and baggage mounted on that out-of-door, nondescript vehicle, the Bian' car, and full gallop for 161 Great Brunswick Street," the hearty home of Richard and Hannah Webb.

Ibid.

No delegate to the World's Convention was more intelligent, more keenly interested, or more ardent than this delightful Irish Quaker, whose name will hereafter figure largely in these annals as one of the chief friends of the old organization and of Mr. Garrison personally in the United Kingdom. We cannot do better than to quote from a letter addressed by Richard Webb to Mr. Garrison on August 1, 1840 (in care of William Rathbone, Liverpool), beginning: "I might readily cut a flourish about what N. P. Rogers might professionally call the day of the date of these presents [the anniversary of West India emancipation]," and hastening to

MS.

[1] The Motts, who "walked a mile along the quay to meet them" ('Life of J. and L. Mott,' p. 169), but were obliged to part from them the same day.

give a list of thirty-three wild Irish "who enjoyed your company during the too short three days (the glorious three days!) during which you favored us with it": CHAP. VII. 1840.

"What shall I say? Thy visit has made the hearts of many of us burn within us in a way that no other man's visit has ever done. I hope it may be blessed to us, and that you may both be long remembered with pleasurable emotion. You have indelibly impressed yourselves on our hearts. I know that we are hot-headed, excitable Irish, and that, like all vivacious people, our strong emotions are liable to be weakened by time; but I do think that you have wound yourselves round our memories in a way which it will give old Father Time a mighty troublesome job to twist off again. Our aspirations will assuredly be frequent for your happiness, and your growth in every spiritual and every genuine temporal blessing." *MS.*

A month later, Richard Webb writes to George Thompson: "How I long to hear from our noble friends across the herring-pond. When they are all gone I will feel myself half transported, for my thoughts will often be with them. There are no people living whose friendship I would value more. Their presence communicates a glorious contagion; and the great ones of the earth — potentates, poets, sages, and pretenders of all sorts — are paltry company beside them. Huzza for the Old Organization!" In proof of the contagion, he mentions that he has printed[1] a small parcel of Non-resistant Principles, "just to raise a little bit of a row, and to set people thinking. I want as many as possible to find fault with them, and then we have some chance of coming to a right decision on the matter." And again, to Mr. Garrison, on September 2: "You would make honester men of us if we had more of your company. I seem to breathe a freer air when you are with me. I never longed so much to see any one as thyself — and it is much to say that I am not disappointed."[2] *MS. August 31, 1840.* *MS.*

[1] Mr. Webb was a printer by occupation.

[2] Rogers and Garrison were as loth to part from their "noble-hearted" friend and host as he from them (*Lib.* 10:151).

CHAP. VII. 1840.

Another friend, as warm and true, who had caught the "glorious contagion" of Mr. Garrison's peace doctrines, and also became a disseminator of them, Elizabeth Pease, obtained the privilege of the final entertainment of himself and Rogers, at the Royal Hotel in Manchester, before they embarked at Liverpool. In a letter to her the leave-taking on August 4, which Richard Webb could not endure to miss, is described in these terms:

MS. July 31, 1840, to W. L. G.

W. L. Garrison to Elizabeth Pease, Darlington, England.

MS.

BOSTON, August 31, 1840.

ESTEEMED FRIEND: The *Acadia* leaves to-morrow, on her return to Liverpool. It would be unpardonable in me not to send an epistle to one for whom I entertain the most profound respect and the strongest friendship; and to whom I am indebted, on the score of generosity, personal kindness, and anti-slavery sympathy and co-operation, far more than any return of thanks, however eloquently expressed, can ever repay.

It is impossible for me to tell you what were my feelings, on discovering that the little steamer which brought us alongside of the *Acadia* in the Mersey, had returned to the dock without my knowledge — carrying you and the other dear friends, who had come so far to see us embark, entirely out of sight — perhaps never to behold each other again on earth. Dear Rogers felt as deeply as myself at this circumstance. We were so troubled in seeing to our luggage, and in ascertaining where we were to be located during the voyage, that we did not discover, till it was too late, that you had left us. I felt very unhappy about it, I assure you; and if tears of regret could have availed anything, we should not have wept in vain. It was our intention to have given you all the last wave of our hats and handkerchiefs, and to have watched you closely till distance should hide you from our sight. What must you have thought of us! Our conduct must have seemed inexplicable. We felt very badly about our warm-hearted friend Richard D. Webb, in particular, in consequence of his having come all the way from Dublin to bid us farewell. But I will not dwell on this painful subject. Rest assured that the choice circle of friends with whom it was our privilege to become acquainted in England, Scotland and Ireland, will never be forgotten by

us, nor their names be erased from the tablets of our hearts. Heaven bless them!

You remember what sort of a place you found the "forward cabin" to be. When you left us, Rogers and myself had about come to the conclusion, that we should have to remove ourselves from the uncomfortable quarters we had selected, and take berths in the "after cabin." However, though we were told that we could not associate with the other passengers, nor sit at the same table with them, if we persisted in retaining our place forward, we nevertheless resolved, *as a matter of anti-slavery self-denial and economy*, not to change our position. Rev. Mr. Galusha, and a gentleman belonging to Halifax, joined us; but we all found just occasion to complain of the treatment we received. You would have smiled, and perhaps felt somewhat indignant, to have seen the table that was made for us. It was merely a pine board, just narrow enough to hold a plate, behind which it was difficult to get access, and under which it was equally ludicrous and painful to see so tall a man as our friend Galusha attempt to crawl. The food that was served up to us was generally not fit to be eaten, and very little withal as to quantity. We were scantily supplied with fresh water; so that we could not get enough to wash our faces decently. As to towels, they were few and far between. As a dernier ressort, we took a sheet, and wiped upon that nearly all the way over the Atlantic. We complained to the head-steward of our treatment, and he promised to make it better—saying that we were entitled, substantially, to the same fare as those in the after cabin obtained—but he did not fulfil his promise. Happily, our voyage was a short one (though it seemed to us almost interminable, so anxious were we to see home, and to be delivered from such a pitiable situation)—only twelve days and a half—the shortest ever made by any other vessel. The mammoth steamer *President*, which sailed three days before us, did not arrive in New York until after the arrival of the *Acadia* in Boston!

Elon Galusha.

There were few incidents that occurred on our passage that would be of any interest to you. A sea-voyage is usually very monotonous; and, situated as dear Rogers and myself were, ours was uncommonly so. We saw *quantum suff.* of "Mother Carey's chickens," spouting whales, tumbling porpoises, and winged flying-fishes. Now and then we saw (and it is always a pleasant sight at sea) a sail in the distance, but did not speak any, except in a single instance. We were surrounded by a

CHAP. VII. 1840. dense fog for several days, which impeded our progress, and made it dangerous to run at full speed: it hindered us at least one day on the passage. The weather was generally very fine: only for about forty-eight hours did the wind blow a gale against us. The *Acadia* is a fine sea-boat, and worthy of much commendation.

There was [one] circumstance, that took place on board, of a melancholy nature. The third officer of the ship, who was quite unwell when he came on board, died on the passage, and was thrown overboard the day before we arrived at Halifax. The captain read the church service over him, in the presence of the crew and passengers, before committing him to the deep. It was a novel and solemn scene — the presentation of death in a new and peculiar form.

When within one hour's sail of Halifax, we were detained by a fog for nearly twelve hours! On going up the harbor, all the inhabitants turned out to receive us, and with their cheers to make the welkin ring. Halifax is beautifully situated, and reminded me very forcibly of the place of my nativity — Newburyport.

Although we took the "Bostonians" by surprise, they nevertheless rushed to the wharves by thousands, and gave the *Acadia* a grand reception. It was one of the most thrilling scenes I ever witnessed; and as it was the termination of my voyage, I could not help weeping like a child for joy. Never did home before look so lovely.

August 17, 1840. On landing at Boston, we were warmly received by a deputation of our white and colored anti-slavery friends, from whom I received the pleasing intelligence that my dear wife and children were all well. These I soon embraced in my arms, gratefully returning thanks to God for all his kindness manifested to us during our separation. I need not attempt to describe the scene.

Our refusal to join the London Convention is warmly applauded by the tried and true-hearted abolitionists of this country. The London Committee will hear from them shortly.

I suppose this will find you at your own delightful residence in Darlington. Though it is not worth answering, I will cherish the hope of hearing from you, in reply, without delay. I have mentioned your kindness to the excluded delegates to Mrs. Chapman and other friends, and they all appreciate it highly. Wishing to be affectionately remembered to your father and brother, and all inquiring friends, I remain,

Your grateful friend, WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

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Mr. Garrison had hardly regained his voice from cheering the friends who attended his landing from the *Acadia*, when a public reception was given to himself and Rogers at the Marlboro' Chapel, on the evening of August 20, under the auspices of their colored friends — the first instance of a mixed assembly being thus brought together in Boston. The feeling of this interesting occasion is well shown in the closing remarks of welcome by John T. Hilton:

Lib. 10:138.

"We congratulate you and ourselves upon your safe return to your dear native country — to this city — to the soil which gave you birth — to the society of your beloved family, and to the dear friends that surround you; — to the colored man whose cause you have advocated. And in expression of our fellowship and grateful sense of your devotedness to it, I now give you, in behalf of this meeting, my right hand (great applause). With it goes my heart! (overwhelming applause), and the hearts of my brethren unitedly, sir. (Amen, amen, from the meeting). I present hearts before you that your enemies have not been able to change or conquer: hearts that could no more be bribed or stolen from you than your heart can be from us. (Applause). And now, sir, in behalf of this assemblage, I invoke the blessing of high heaven upon your head! (Repeated and enthusiastic expressions)."

A few disconnected extracts must suffice from Mr. Garrison's felicitous response:

Lib. 10:138.

"It is impossible for me to make the feelings fully comprehended with which I see again my native land! — the feelings with which I find myself here once more in Massachusetts — in Boston — in this temple of Liberty — and before such an audience as this! I thank God that I was born in the United States — that my field of labor lies in the United States. Though I have met in England nothing but kindness, and have often been literally overwhelmed with demonstrations of regard — yet I had rather be here in the midst of my oppressed countrymen, laboring for their deliverance, than elsewhere, though basking in the sunshine of favor. I said I was glad to be in Boston once more. I am — though Boston has, it is true, used me somewhat roughly, in days that are past. I am — for here I see once more THE PEOPLE. In England I have seen

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dukes, and marquises, and earls, and royalty itself, in all the hereditary splendor of an ancient monarchy, surrounded with luxury and pomp, and the people impoverished and oppressed to sustain it all; but here, in New England, one looks for such inequality in vain.

"Yet I have had no reason personally to speak ill of the nobility. I have to make grateful acknowledgment of much kindness and attention from them. But I want to see them invested in their own nobility alone. I want them to be the noblemen of nature.

"But here are THE PEOPLE! And oh, how would my heart leap if my thoughts might stop here. True, there are here no such institutions, civil or ecclesiastical, as there weigh heavily on the people; but our country tolerates — yea, cherishes with all her might — what is a thousand times worse — SLAVERY. It is in vain that we strive to take an exalted rank among the nations till this is done away. No matter what we are — no matter how well fed and clothed are a *part* of our people — no matter how abundant are our civil and religious privileges — no matter how excellent and how equalizing are our institutions — no matter how great are our facilities for instruction, our ardor in benevolent operations: — it all goes for nothing, so long as we grind to the dust three millions of our countrymen because their skins are not colored like our own. . . .

Lib. 10: 139.

"And now I want the colored people to sympathize with all who need their sympathy. I want them to call on British abolitionists to sympathize with the oppressed and suffering classes in their own land. I beseech them to put forth the finger of warning and entreaty to their British friends, in view of all the sufferings of those at hand, even at their doors. I call upon the colored people to support every unpopular reform the world over — to pity and plead for the poor oppressed Irishmen; for all who suffer, whether at the South, or on the British shores, or in India, or numbered by the hundred millions.[1] We should, as nations, reciprocate rebukes. And as we send our souls to theirs, freighted with reproof and exhortation, let them meet on the deep, and embrace as angel spirits, and pass on. (Applause). When they rebuke our manifold national sins, let us also be faithful in rebuking theirs, and then we shall have cancelled the debt. (Applause). . . .

[1] This last alternative seems to lack its first member.

"I have been too long, I fear, and have defrauded my dear friend Rogers of the time he should have occupied. My bro. Hilton has justly said that our union is more perfect than that of the Siamese twins; for I believe we have not even a ligament between us. We are rather like the ocean drops that mingle into one. I cannot be too grateful for the privilege I have enjoyed in the company of that dear friend. I rejoice to find that you are soon to remove him from his little post among the northern mountains, (though that is a very important one), to bear the grand *National Anti-Slavery Standard* to the onset. (Applause). His voice has ever been a most awakening and cheering one, and it gladdens my heart that he is to be placed where it will reverberate round the land. (Applause)." *Lib.* 10:139.

On the day following this reception Mr. Garrison with his wife and infant repaired to Brooklyn, Conn., to celebrate his return with his brother James and the Bensons. And here was penned the following letter:

W. L. Garrison to H. C. Wright, at Hartford, Conn.

BROOKLYN, August, 1840. *M.S., endorsed August 23, 1840.*

How much I desire to see you! I will not attempt to give you even a synopsis of the events which transpired during my brief sojourn in England, Scotland, and Ireland — not, at least, until we shall be permitted to see each other face to face. Let me just assure you, that I regard my mission as one of the most important movements of my life; that everything looks well for our side of the question across the great waters; that the rejection of the American female delegation by the London Convention, and the refusal of Rogers, Remond, Adams, and myself, to become members of the same, have done more to bring up for the consideration of Europe the rights of woman than could have been accomplished in any other manner; that, wherever we travelled, notwithstanding our contumacious (!) behavior toward the Convention, we were hailed as the benefactors of our race; that we "sifted into" the minds of those with whom we came in contact, all sorts of "heresies" and "extraneous topics," in relation to Temperance, Non-Resistance, Moral Reform, Human Rights, Holiness, &c., &c.; that we have secured the personal acquaintance and friendship of some of the noblest spirits of the age, who will co-operate with us in all our efforts to subvert the empire of Satan; and

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that, in due season, the fruits of our mission will be made manifest to all eyes.

On the subject of non-resistance, I had very much to say in England, Scotland, and the Emerald Isle; especially in view of the monuments and statues erected in honor of naval and military warriors, and of the numerous castles, and forts, and arsenals, and armed troops, which were everywhere to be seen. I carried out with me six bound volumes of the *Non-Resistant*, six copies of the engraved Declaration of Sentiments, and a bundle of non-resistance tracts, all which I distributed in the most judicious manner and to great acceptance. Some converts were made before our departure, and many minds are laboring with the great question. As the temperance cause is somewhat unpopular in England, and the great mass of abolitionists there are in the daily habit of using wine, porter, and other intoxicating liquors, I said much privately and publicly in favor of total abstinence, and rebuked them faithfully for their criminal indulgence.[1] In short, I did what I could for the redemption of the human race.

Dear Rogers was my companion on all occasions, and assisted me in my labors very materially. He was exceedingly well received, and has won for himself a good reputation. It is somewhat doubtful whether he will go to New York; but I think he will not be able to resist our importunities. Indeed, *he must go* — and greatly will our new-organization antagonists tremble on seeing him actually in the editorial chair of the *Standard* — and so will all who are endeavoring to stop the march of reform through this country and the world.

As to George Thompson, I can say that he is with us, through evil report and through good report,—for better, for worse,— on the woman question — on the side of non-resistance, old organization, etc. His speech at the London Convention was unfortunate and incoherent, which he now ridicules, and of which he is ashamed, but which was extorted under peculiar circumstances and without reflection. "Richard's himself again," and nobly will he do battle for us.

Lib. 10:139.

[1] Thus, his declining the wine proffered at William Ashurst's led the latter to ask Mr. Garrison's reasons for such a departure from usage. The discussion which ensued ended, upon further reflection, in Mr. Ashurst's becoming a total abstainer on principle. A similar testimony at Wincobank Hall sufficed to banish the decanter ever after from Mrs. Rawson's table. Many like instances might be adduced. Indeed, Mr. Garrison's temperance testimonies began on his former visit to England in 1833, and were still uttered on his final visit in 1877.

W. L. Garrison to Elizabeth Pease, Darlington, England.

BOSTON, Sept. 1, 1840. *MS.*

I find that, during my absence in England, the spirit of "new organization" spared no pains, and let slip no opportunity, to make me odious with the public, and, especially, to alienate the affections of the colored people from me. They well know that, so long as I retain the confidence of my colored friends, all their machinations against me will prove abortive. Thus far, it has only been the viper gnawing against the file. You will see, by the last number of the *Liberator*, an account of a great meeting which was held in the Marlboro' Chapel, in this city, by the colored inhabitants, in conjunction with their white friends, in order to give a public welcome to dear Rogers and myself on our return from abroad. It was a most interesting, affecting, and sublime spectacle. We were received with great enthusiasm, and deemed it as great an honor as could be conferred upon us by mortals. I wish you could have looked in at the meeting just at the moment when my estimable and much respected colored friend, John T. Hilton, gave me the right hand of fellowship in the presence of the great assembly, and in the name of the colored citizens of Boston. If you could have seen the fervor of his grasp, and the visible emotions of his soul, you would have concurred with me in opinion, that such a reception would more than compensate for a whole life of toil and sacrifice in behalf of "the suffering and the dumb." On the preceding evening, a meeting was got up by the new organizers for Messrs. Colver and Galusha, but it did not amount to anything: they were largely indebted to the friends of the old Society for their audience. Colver was vulgar and abusive, as usual — perhaps rather more so.

Lib. 10:138.

August 19, 1840. *N. Colver. E. Galusha.*

A similar public welcome has since been given to me by the colored inhabitants of Salem, and most delightful it was to my spirit. At the close of my address in their meeting-house, an elegant entertainment was served up in the Masonic Hall, in which some eighty persons, male and female, participated — and at the conclusion of which, highly complimentary speeches were made by a number of white and colored friends. It was, indeed, a joyous occasion. After all the manifestations of gratitude and kindness which have been made towards myself by the colored population of the United States, for so many years past,— to say nothing of the obligations which rest upon

Lib. 10:151.

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me as a moral being,— for me to abandon their cause, come what may to my person or reputation, would be base in the extreme. It is my exalted privilege to be one of their advocates, and I want no other.

Mrs. Chapman was delighted to hear about our movements in England, and particularly all we had to say about yourself. She is as buoyant and active in spirit as ever, and, if possible, even more arduous in her labors. Noble woman!

Lib. 10:151. There is to be a State Anti-Slavery Convention in New Hampshire next week, and another in Massachusetts during this month, at both of which Rogers and myself are expected to be present, to give an account of that which never existed — to wit, the World's Convention. We shall show it up in its true light, London Committee and all!

And now for a specimen of American *orthodox* Quakerism, as it relates to prejudice against a colored complexion. Perhaps our mutual friend William Bassett has sent it to you already: if so, you will excuse the repetition. In one of the numbers of the *Friend*, published in Philadelphia, an extract was inserted from a letter written in London by John T. Norton, (one of the delegates to the Convention), giving an account of the manner in which respectable colored persons were treated on your side of the Atlantic, and of the absence of that prejudice which is so disgraceful to America. Such was the excitement, it seems, created by that little paragraph among the *quiet* readers of the *Friend*, that the editor had to come out with the following apology! Hear him!

Lib. 10:147. "Within a few days past, we have received more than one intimation, from *respectable* sources, that we *have been guilty of an indiscretion*, by inserting, the week before last, the article headed, 'Colored People in London.' In answer we may say, that it was copied from one of our exchange papers, *with no other view* than as showing the kind of feeling with which colored people were regarded there; and, being unaccompanied by note or comment, it was only by *a strained inference* that we could be supposed *to hold it up as an example for imitation among ourselves.* WE SHOULD BE VERY SORRY TO BE SO UNDERSTOOD. We are not, nor ever have been, connected with the anti-slavery societies, and, although among those associated with them are many estimable individuals, and not a few of them in the list of our particular friends, yet we have uniformly believed, that *one of the greatest mistakes committed by the anti-slavery people* is the mixing up with the abolition question *the*

warfare against what THEY ARE PLEASED TO CALL *prejudices in regard to the colored race.*"

Spirits of Fox, Woolman and Benezet! Here we have the full manifestation of that hateful spirit which hunts the colored man with blood-hound ferocity on these shores, and makes his life full of wretchedness and misery. Such Quakerism as this is of Satan's own manufacture. I shall wait with some curiosity to see how it will be treated by the Society of Friends in England. I hope you will lay it before them, that we may have a response in due season.

William Bassett has been cut off from the Society in this country! He will, doubtless, give you all the particulars about it. He is a martyr to the cause of humanity, and has been expelled only because the Society is too corrupt to retain such purity. His spirit, however, is just as peaceful, his countenance just as benignant, his purpose just as steadfast, as they were before this shameful treatment. The proscription of such a man is one of the most conclusive proofs of the awful condition into which the Society of Friends has fallen in this negro-hating country.

The dear babe that was born during my absence . . . was very unwell just before my return, so that it was supposed he could not recover; but he was mercifully spared. I have not yet given him a name! Shall we call a "World's Convention" to decide upon it? If so, remember that women are not to be included in the call! And yet I am determined to have their decision in the case.[1]

Much do I wish to see you and the other dear friends in England; but as this wish cannot be gratified at present, do not fail to let me hear from you soon. Remember me affectionately to your father, mother, brother, &c.

The country was now in the height of the excitement of the most prolonged Presidential canvass ever known, and on the eve of the election itself. In spite of General

[1] "We have named our little babe Wendell Phillips," writes its happy father on Sept. 17, 1840, to his brother James, at Brooklyn, Conn. On Jan. 22, 1841, the namesake wrote from Leghorn to convey his thanks through Miss Mary G. Chapman. "What shall I say to W. L. G.'s touching mark of kindly feeling in giving his little boy my name? Shall I ask you to thank him for this new token of his love, and pet the little one till some one returns to do it? Perhaps I owe it to the fact of being happy enough (which I owe to your letter) of being the first in London to tell him of his birth" (MS. Feb. 23, 1841, Miss Chapman to W. L. G.)

Lib. 10:129, 146,151,162; 11:204.

Harrison's trimming on the subject of slavery, and the evidence of his consistent hostility to the abolition movement in his maturer years, his candidacy had carried off their feet an alarming number of Whig abolitionists, while the Third Party had captivated another class, of whom the most shining example was Samuel E. Sewall. The operations of the old organization were thus doubly embarrassed and almost paralyzed; and to make such head against the current as was possible, a series of State conventions were appointed, and Mr. Garrison's attendance assured by combining with their other objects a report from the delegates to the World's Convention. Such was the one at Worcester alluded to in the above letter to Elizabeth Pease, and thus emphasized in a letter of the same date from Collins:

Lib. 10:135, 143.

John A. Collins to W. L. Garrison.

MS. NEW BEDFORD, Sept. 1, 1840.

Pardon me for again calling your attention to the Worcester Convention, and Springfield also. In my estimation, it is of great importance to the present interest of our cause, that you bring this convention prominently before the readers of the *Liberator*. You have the power of making the convention a large one, and it is a power, too, which no one possesses but yourself.

I really wish you understood perfectly the exact position the friends of the old organization hold to the two great political parties, and how generally they have been caught up in the whirlwind of political enthusiasm. Could you but go where I have been, and have seen and heard what I have seen and heard; could you see men — aye, and women, too — who have been and still are your warmest advocates, who have eschewed sectarianism, and lost their caste in the circle in which they moved, for their strong adherence to your views and measures, declare that they would sooner forego their abolitionism than their party, and, to justify themselves in part, would dodge behind the most time-serving views of "A Plain Man"[1] which

[1] Perhaps Richard Hildreth? (See *Lib.* 10:51.) His articles were directed against the Third Party, as playing into the hands of Van Buren.

appeared in the *Liberator* some months since—I am confident that my beloved brother would feel different on this subject. *Lib.* 10:49, 51, 65, 67.

Now these are not the views of here and there a straggling abolitionist, but of seven-tenths of all the voting abolitionists of the State. Now these men are worth saving. They have been of great value to the cause, and, if they can be preserved, will continue to be valuable. . . . They can be saved if but the proper steps can be taken. They do not fully realize the damnable influence it will exert, both upon themselves and the cause. They are politically intoxicated. The enthusiasm of Bank and Sub-treasury, Harrison and Reform, has taken entire possession of them. They are entirely unconscious of the demoralizing influence of their course. They need light, warning, entreaty and rebuke. They ought to be made to see what they can, ought, and must do. They are worth saving. Every man who thus goes for his party is doing more injury to the cause than fifty pro-slavery men.

Don't fail, I entreat you, to bring up the subject in the *Liberator* this week. Make something of a flourish of trumpets about it.

Before the month ended, the New York State Anti-Slavery Society had gone to pieces—the first fruits of the attempt to put Garrisonian abolitionism in the political traces. As in Munchausen's fable, the Third Party wolf had devoured the abolition horse while running. Meantime, the new Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York city had notified the Massachusetts Board that they were absolutely out of funds, and that fresh collections in the midst of the political turmoil were impracticable. In other words, the burden of maintaining both the Massachusetts Society and the *Liberator* was now to be increased by that of supporting the American Society and the *Standard*. The few on whom it fell did not flinch, and it was quickly resolved to send Collins to England to raise money for present relief. He consented, on condition that a thousand dollars should be raised to provide for the *Standard* in his absence; and, this having been done, he quietly took his departure in the *Britannia* *Lib.* 10:158.

Anon. MS. Sept., 1840, *to N. P. Rogers.*

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on October 1, fortified with credentials as an agent of the American Society, an address to the abolitionists of Great Britain prepared reluctantly by Charles Burleigh (who did not approve of the mission), and with letters, among others, from N. P. Rogers, who likewise discountenanced the measure. On his part, Mr. Garrison yielded a cordial assent:

MS. Sept. 26, 1840, to J. S. Gibbons.

MS. Sept. 28, 1840, to F. Jackson.

W. L. Garrison to Elizabeth Pease.

MS.

BOSTON, Sept. 30, 1840.

As many thanks as there are waves in the Atlantic for the epistle received from you by the *Britannia*. You see what liberty I have taken with it, and some others brought me by our mutual friend George Bradburn, in the last number of the *Liberator*.

Lib. 10: 155.

Thomas Clarkson's letter, repudiating the Colonization Society, is of great value, and will make a salutary impression upon the public mind. I am overjoyed to think that the dear old man has publicly abandoned that wicked combination, and left it to perish in infamy. It would have been most afflicting to all the genuine friends of bleeding humanity, if he had gone down to the grave even ostensibly as a supporter of that Society. I am surprised, nevertheless, that, in stating his objections to it, he does not say one word about its impious doctrines and pro-slavery principles. He really seems to be wholly ignorant of them!

Lib. 10: 154; *ante*, p. 388.

Little did I think, my dear friend, that you would so soon see among you another of our anti-slavery band in Massachusetts; but I am as happy to introduce to you, as I doubt not you will be to see him, my esteemed friend and coadjutor, John A. Collins, the General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and a member of our Board of Managers. He is a free spirit, a lover of universal reform, most zealous and efficient as an advocate of emancipation, one who has made large sacrifices for our cause, is thoroughly conversant with all the schisms that have taken place in our ranks, and is generally successful in whatever he undertakes. The object of his mission he will lay before you and the other choice spirits in England, so that I need not go into any details in this letter. Suffice it to say, that, in consequence of the political excitement now raging like a whirlwind in this country — the embarrassed state of the

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times — and, especially, the blow which our third-party abolitionists and the new organizationists have given to the anti-slavery enterprise — we are really in a more critical situation than we have ever been before; and unless we can get some aid from abroad, I am apprehensive that the American Anti-Slavery Society, with the *National Standard*, Rogers and all, must sink.

We have, you may rest assured, strained every nerve to sustain ourselves; and it is with the greatest reluctance that we send our bro. Collins on his mission. It is a dernier ressort, "for better, for worse." We are well aware how many are the calls made upon our British friends, to promote objects of charity, mercy and religion; but we know, too, that they have realized the truth of the Saviour's declaration, that "it is more blessed to give than to receive." In attempting to put away the evil that is in the world, we must forget all national distinctions and geographical boundaries, and remember that we are indeed members of one family, to whom there is nothing foreign, nothing remote. I have told my friend Collins of the difficulties that will lie in his path, especially in consequence of the introduction of the new-organization spirit among you in England. He goes out, therefore, with very moderate expectations; for even a little assistance will amount to a great deal at this juncture. We trust, for our sakes, that his mission will be short, for we cannot spare him long abroad. I rely very much upon your judgment, and also that of Geo. Thompson, in this emergency. Do counsel my friend Collins, for he will need to be wise as a serpent, and harmless as a dove. He goes out in behalf of the American Society, the Executive Committee of which, I presume, will send an address by him to the anti-slavery friends in England. Our Board, also, will furnish him with some credentials.

Next week, we are to have a State Anti-Slavery Convention in Worcester, at which Rogers and myself must be present, to give an account of our doings in England. I wish *you* could be present. There is hardly another person in all the world that I desire to see so much as yourself. I hope we shall have a whole shipload of British abolitionists, *of the right stamp*, imported to these shores, ere long. We must have a World's Convention in Boston.

Mrs. Garrison.

My dear Helen feels very grateful to you for your numerous kindnesses to me, and would be glad of an opportunity to return like for like. My family are all well, and my own health continues good.

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The Worcester Convention was held on October 6 and 7, and was followed by another on October 8 and 9 at Springfield, Mass. Mr. Garrison reported both in a letter to Collins:

W. L. Garrison to John A. Collins.

MS. BOSTON, Oct. 16, 1840.

By this time, I suppose, you are very near the shores of old England — perhaps fairly landed. That all possible success may attend your mission is the ardent desire of my heart, because it is connected with the peaceable triumph of our great anti-slavery enterprise. Nothing special has transpired since you left. Your absence, as yet, has not excited any particular inquiry. When asked where you are gone, we say to England; deeming it both useless and needless to feign or affect mystery about it. Neither the *Emancipator* nor the *Abolitionist* has noticed your departure; but I suppose both of *J. Leavitt.* them will do so, in due season. In his last number, Leavitt virtually threatens to prosecute the *Standard* if it be not careful how it speaks of him! The *Emancipator*, by the way, is pretty near "death's door." Our tried friend J. S. Gibbons, in a letter just received from him, says an old friend met him a day or two since in New York, who said — "There's to be a meeting this afternoon, ain't there?" "Don't know. Where, and about what?" "Why, at No. 9 Spruce Street, to consult whether the *Emancipator* shall go on, or stop." Leavitt has started a penny daily, to advocate the third-party project. He calls it the *Ballot-Box*. It will doubtless place him, and all who are concerned in it, in a sad "box," ere long. We shall know, in the course of a few weeks, how many abolitionists are disposed to countenance that unwise movement. I think the number will be found to be small indeed; at least I hope so, for the integrity of our cause. The third party is only another name for new organization. They twain are one.

You will, of course, wish to hear how our State Conventions at Worcester and Springfield went off. I refer you to the *Lib.* 10:166. *Liberator* of to-day for an account of the proceedings. The *Oct.* 6, 7, 1840. meeting at Worcester was very interesting, but the number of delegates in attendance not large. Some three or four hundred dollars were collected in pledges and cash, and about two hun- *Oct.* 8, 9, 1840. dred were raised by the Fair. The meeting at Springfield came very near being a total failure. The time and the place

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chosen for it were highly unfavorable. There were not enough present in the forenoon to warrant an organization. In the afternoon, some thirty persons were present, and in the evening less than a hundred. The next day, there was very little increase, though in the evening there were, perhaps, two hundred persons in the audience. The principal speakers were Rogers, Abby Kelley, Johnson, Chace, "Rev. Dr." Osgood, and myself. Dr. Osgood received all the female delegates to his house, and was very solicitous to have Rogers and myself take shelter under his roof, but we declined — preferring to stop with Dr. Church. He [Dr. Osgood] said, in our meeting, that he did not wish to be called Dr.; that he was sick of the title; that he had never sought it, etc., etc. He also said that he had a very high opinion of his brother Garrison, and liked the *Liberator* very much, though he was in hourly expectation of being put into the Refuge of Oppression. He behaved, on the whole, very well, and did not say one word in favor of the new, or against the old organization. It happened that there was a tremendous Whig gathering on the very day of our Convention; and, consequently, the whole town was in commotion. There were long processions, public harangues, illuminations, transparencies, etc. What a work is to be done for our cause in the western part of this State! But where are the laborers?[1]

N. P. Rogers.
O. Johnson.
W. M. Chace.
Samuel Osgood.
Jefferson Church.
Ante, 1: 453.

I have just returned from the Middlesex County Convention at Groton. In the forenoon, about a dozen persons were present; in the afternoon, twice that number; and in the evening, one hundred: not half a dozen of whom were from all the other towns in the county! The fact is, bro. Collins, and we cannot and ought not to hide it, a large proportion of the abolitionists in this State, and elsewhere, are determined to go with their party at the approaching election; and they will not attend our meetings until after election, even if at all. This is not less humiliating than true. Besides this, new organization has benumbed the sensibilities and paralyzed the energies of very many who were once actively engaged in our

Lib. 10: 175.

[1] Rogers took a more rosy view of the Convention at Springfield. Writing to Francis Jackson, Oct. 24, 1840, he says (MS.): "We had a grand time at Springfield — a really grand time. I behaved tolerably well there myself. Garrison and Chace and Johnson and Abby [Kelley] did wondrously. It made Springfield stare. By the way, Abby is taking the field like a lion. What a speech in the *Liberator* (10: 171), and how superbly reported" — doubtless by Mrs. Chapman.

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cause. It is the worst foe that liberty has to contend with—the most dangerous form of pro-slavery.

Lib. 10:175. This morning I go to Methuen, to attend the Essex County Convention. I expect we shall have to address bare walls; but, no matter. After all, believing that God is with us, we may confidently affirm that we are multitudinous as to number, and victorious as to principle. Abby Kelley will attend the meeting. She spoke eloquently and impressively at Springfield. She also addressed a public meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, in the Melodeon, last Wednesday evening. I was at Groton; but I hear that she acquitted herself well. Mrs. Southwick was in the chair.

Lib. 10:171. *Oct.* 14, 1840. *Thankful Southwick.*

N. P. Rogers. *Oliver Johnson.*

Rogers has consented to write regularly for the editorial department of the *Standard*. Bro. Johnson is now in New York, and will probably remain until you return, superintending the paper. But the Executive Committee are suffering for the want of funds, and the *Standard* must soon, I fear, be ingloriously furled, in the presence of our enemies, unless some aid can be promptly obtained from abroad.[1] There are some, at least, in England, who will try to help us.

Lib. 10:171. I was very unfortunate on my return from the Worcester Convention, having lost my wallet, containing upwards of fifty dollars in money, and an order to the amount of thirty dollars, besides sundry valuable papers. There is now no probability that I shall ever recover it. It is a severe loss for me in my poverty, though not a very large sum. I feel like an animal that has been denuded of its fur. But, "the Lord is my shepherd," and he will not fail to watch over me and mine.

[1] "We fear, here [in Boston], about the possibility of keeping up the *Standard* without a suspension. The friends at N. Y. are more sanguine. That true soul, J. S. Gibbons, has mortgaged his furniture to keep it flying" (MS. Dec. 31, 1840, E. Quincy to J. A. Collins).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHARDON-STREET CONVENTION.—1840.

THE year 1840 was, in a fermenting period, distinguished for the number of conventions, of every species, looking to the amelioration of human society. One, which made much stir, was held at Groton, Mass., on August 12 (while Mr. Garrison was on the water), being called by the friends of Christian Union, who inquired: "Is the outward organization of the Church a human or a divine institution?" Amos Farnsworth was in the chair, and among other abolitionists who participated were A. B. Alcott, J. V. Himes, and Cyrus M. Burleigh. But also one remarked the Rev. George Ripley, the future founder of the Brook Farm community; Christopher Pearce Cranch; and (as the report read in the *Liberator*) "—— Parker of Roxbury," with little-known Second-Adventists and "Come-outers." The Non-Resistance Convention was next in order, being the second annual meeting of the Society. It met at Chardon-Street Chapel on September 23, 24, 1840; but neither Mr. Garrison's annual report nor the rest of the proceedings[1] need keep us from the more important "Chardon-Street Convention"—important in a personal sense to Mr. Garrison, as it was made the occasion of fresh defamation of him, even on the part of those who, like the Rev. Nathaniel Colver, had as much to do with it as

Lib. 10:127, 135.

Lib. 10:135. *Rev. Theo. Parker.*

Lib. 10:159, 180, 184.

Lib. 11:19.

1 "Non-resistance holds its own," wrote Edmund Quincy on Dec. 31, 1840, to Collins abroad (MS.) "The *Non-Resistant* paid for itself this year. I suppose the New Organizers are opening a way for H. C. Wright to go over [to England] in a year or so."

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he had. The call did not obtain the signature of the editor of the *Liberator*. At first, he was apprehensive that it was somewhat premature. But the result of it, said he, "led me to give thanks to God, and greatly to rejoice in spirit, because I believed that 'the truth as it is in Jesus' was signally promoted by it."

Lib. 11 : 19.

Immediately upon the close of the Non-Resistance anniversary, on the evening of September 24, 1840, a meeting of the friends of Universal Reform was held at Chardon-Street Chapel. Its object was to consider the expediency of calling a "convention to examine the validity of the views which generally prevail in this country as to the divine appointment of the first day of the week as the Christian Sabbath, and to inquire into the origin, nature, and authority of the institutions of the Ministry and the Church, as now existing." Edmund Quincy was made chairman of this conference, and Mrs. M. W. Chapman secretary; and they, together with A. B. Alcott, Mrs. Thankful Southwick, and John A. Collins, were constituted a committee to summon the proposed convention. The call appeared in (among other journals) the *Liberator* for October 16, with the signatures of the above-named and of the Rev. Wm. H. Channing (a nephew of Dr. Channing), the Rev. Theodore Parker, the Rev. Robert F. Wallcut,[1] Henry C. Wright, Abby Kelley, William Bassett, Thomas Davis, Oliver Johnson, and many others; thus representing the Groton Convention, the Non-Resistant Convention, the old anti-slavery

Lib. 10 : 167.

Lib. 10 : 167.

[1] A graduate of Harvard College in the class — the famous abolition class, it might be termed — of 1817 *(ante,* 1 : 213). Mr. Wallcut became a Unitarian clergyman at North Dennis, on Cape Cod. He early took an interest in the anti-slavery cause. Mrs. Chapman tells (MS. Mar. 9, 1884) of her happening to be with his wife's friends when he came to call upon them in town. "We were talking of the ministers driven from their parishes for admitting anti-slavery lecturers to the rural districts, reading notices and praying for the slaves. He could hardly credit it. How could it be? 'As it might be in your parish,' I said, 'where doubtless the wealthy deacons' fishing-schooners carry salt fish to the plantations, and dread to lose the trade.' 'I'll try it!' he replied. 'Then be prepared,' I answered, 'to take the consequences that are showered down upon every anti-slavery minister.' He *did* try it and *took* the consequences."

organization, and the Transcendental wing of the Unitarian denomination. As we have said, Mr. Garrison's name was conspicuous by its absence, but in the eyes of the New Organizers and the public at large he was constructively at the bottom of the whole thing. As the *Standard* (perhaps through N. P. Rogers) truthfully pointed out, in another connection:

"Garrison . . . will not content himself with the one heresy of immediate emancipation, but must be ever and anon broaching others. The community had become familiarized somewhat with that, and were ceasing to mob it, and it was even growing respectable, when lo! he proclaims other heresies, and throws back the cause upon the contempt of the 'judicious' community. Not that he mingles any of his *new* heresies with the *old* one which the seceders had embraced; but *community* does. They identify the new heresies with anti-slavery, and the anti-slavery cause with Garrison; and we cannot keep them separate in the public mind. This is equivalent to Garrison's identifying them, and, in short, he *does* identify them, and is guilty of the offence in the estimation of community." *Lib.* 10:178.

No one was more aware of this, or cared less for it, than Mr. Garrison himself:

W. L. Garrison to George W. Benson.

BOSTON, Nov. 1, 1840. *MS.*

I am truly rejoiced (and so is Helen) to hear that mother is willing to come to Cambridgeport again, and be with us during the winter. To Helen, her company and assistance are invaluable. I am at a loss to know how we can do without her. I am aware that there is nothing particularly attractive at our house to win her from Brooklyn; and this makes it more kind in her to be willing to take up her abode with us. The meeting of the Rhode Island State Society will take place (I believe) on the 23d and 24th inst. If convenient, I wish mother would be in Providence at that time, so as to return with me. Let me beseech you not to fail to be at that meeting. Something must be done to prevent the last state of Rhode Island being worse than the first. Remember your former connection with the State Society, and do not at so perilous a crisis leave it to *Mrs. Geo. Benson.*

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perish ignominiously. If we resolve upon it, we can have a good meeting.

The call for the Sabbath, ministerial and church Convention is beginning to make a mighty stir among the priesthood, and even to fill with dismay some of our professed anti-slavery friends. Cowards! not to know that truth is mightier than error, and that it is darkness, and not light, that is afraid of investigation. Several of our subscribers have already discontinued their papers on account of the publication of the

Lib. 10:167. call in the *Liberator*, and more, I suppose, will soon follow their example. The New Hampshire *Panoply*, Vermont *Chronicle*, New York *Observer*, *Zion's Herald*, Boston *Transcript*, Greenfield *Gazette*, Lynn *Puritan*, *American Sentinel*, etc., etc., are out in full blast about it. They attribute it all to me, of course; some of them insisting that my name is appended to the call.

Lib. 10:177, 183. You will see, in the next *Liberator*, what they have said. This will be the occasion of a fresh attack upon my devoted head, and also upon the *Liberator*, to crush it. But, truly, none of these things disturb me. I can "smile at Satan's rage, and face a frowning world," for my trust is in the Lord, and Christ is my Redeemer. Dear George, come on to the Convention,

H. C. Wright. Rev. W. Coe. and do not say, "I cannot." Bring bro. Wright with you, and friend Coe, and as many of the Brooklyn friends as possible. These are solemn, glorious, stirring times to live in! Let us do with our might what our hands find to do. So, come along! . . .

Rev. S. J. May. Bro. May speaks of his visit to Brooklyn with a great deal of pleasure. He will be at the Sabbath Convention. . . .

No adequate report of the Convention was ever made.

Lib. 10:190. It met at the Chardon-Street Chapel on November 17, 1840, and sat for three days, without arriving at any conclusion or adopting any resolutions. The roll of members embraced, besides the persons already enumerated, Francis Jackson, Henry G. Chapman, Samuel Philbrick, William Adams, Andrew Robeson, James Russell Lowell, George Ripley, C. P. Cranch, and not a few

Lib. 10:194. *Weiss's Life of Parker*, 1:158. ladies. Among the interested but passive spectators were Dr. Channing, who, as Theodore Parker reports, doubted the propriety of the Convention, "since it looks like seeking agitation, and [he] fears the opinion of Garrison, Quincy, and Maria W. Chapman"; and R. W. Emerson, who has left the best — indeed, an ideal —

summary view of the Convention in its three stages. Quincy presided. The "Come-outers" protested against any *organization* of the meeting, which they desired to be free, without chairman or secretary or committee, bishop or pope. They were overruled, and the Sabbath question was taken up, and proved to be the only theme considered. The Rev. J. V. Himes, pastor of the Chapel, proposed that the Convention adopt the Old and the New Testaments as the only authentic record of faith and duty — in other words, that Bible proofs should alone be in order. This was discussed by Alcott, May, Garrison, the Rev. Luther Lee, the Rev. N. Colver, the Rev. John Pierpont, the Rev. Samuel Osgood, the Rev. Theodore Parker, and others, and did not prevail with the meeting. "Garrison," nevertheless, "emphatically remarked, more than once, that he did not see how those who rejected the Scriptures as of divine authority, could properly take part in the discussion; for what did we know in regard to the Sabbath except from the Bible?" "At the opening of the Convention, and on various occasions during the discussion," to use his own words, "I expressly declared that I stood upon the Bible, and the Bible alone, in regard to my views of 'the Sabbath, the Church, and the Ministry'— and that I felt if I could not stand triumphantly on that foundation, I could stand nowhere in the universe. My arguments were all drawn from the Bible, and from no other source."

Emerson's Lectures and Biographical Sketches, ed 1884, *p.* 351.

Lib. 10:190.

Jas. Canning's Fuller, Feb. 20, 1841, *to E. Pease (private circular).*

Lib. 11:19.

The second proposition came from Pierpont, namely, "That the first day of the week is ordained by divine authority as the Christian Sabbath," and hereupon the battle was waged; Mr. Garrison being foremost in taking the negative side (on the ground that the institution of the Sabbath had been abrogated by the coming of Christ),[1] and having A. A. Phelps for his chief antago-

[1] Doubtless we have an indication of his line of argument — Scriptural wholly — in his contemporaneous review of the Rev. Charles Simmons's 'Scripture Manual,' apropos of the question, "Are mankind required to keep the Sabbath holy?" (*Lib.* 10:195).

Lib. 10:206. nist. Mr. May, too, felt obliged to oppose him, and,
Lib. 11:58, 179. when it was voted to adjourn the Convention to the last Tuesday in March, 1841, thought that another such meet-
Lib. 10:194. ing would do no good, and strove to have the vote reconsidered. The adjournment to a day fixed, however, was reaffirmed, and there was unanimous acceptance of Mr. Garrison's proposal to take up, as the next subject, the Ministry.

MS. Dec. 31, 1840. Edmund Quincy thus sketches, for the information of the absent Collins, the Convention, which "went off grandly":

"It was the most singular collection of strange specimens of
Ante, p 421. humanity that was ever assembled. Groton was but a type of
Rev. S. Osgood. it.[1] Dr. Osgood, of Springfield, Phelps, Colver, &c., took the
Rev. A. A. Phelps. affirmative of the Sabbath question; Garrison, T. Parker, and
Rev. N. Colver. others the negative. Phelps was ingenious though sophistical, and I suppose gave the best argument that could be made on that side. But if the Father has made a law binding on all his children, the breach of which he will punish with eternal damnation, and leaves it to be inferred and logicised from separate sentences of books written thousands of years ago and hundreds of years apart, it seems to me that we have been mistaken in his character. Although, perhaps, our Orthodox friends may reconcile it as ingeniously as Dr. Osgood accounted for the mitigation of the penalty of Sabbath-breaking. His hypothesis was, substantially, that the Almighty had grown better-natured than he used to be, and had left off stoning people to death. 'Did you ever,' said a sly young law student to me after this hint,—'did you ever see a fellow pitch into his
A. B. Alcott. Maker in that style before?' Sylvanus Brown and Alcott were for emancipating themselves from the trammels of a moderator; and it was some time before we could get organized. There was less *boring*, on the whole, than we had a right to expect. Abigail Folsom[2] read us a few chapters from St. Paul *à propos des bottes.*"

[1] "It [Groton] was the most singular *mélange* I ever encountered, consisting of persons of every degree of talent and culture, from the 'Come-outers' of Cape Cod to the Unitarian Transcendentalists" (MS. Sept. 5, 1840, E. Quincy to H. C. Wright).

[2] A worthy but insane woman, "that flea of conventions," as Emerson called her. The patient and humane toleration of her, year after year, on

W. L. Garrison to J. A. Collins, abroad. CHAP. VIII.

1840.

BOSTON, Dec. 1, 1840.

What has created the greatest stir among us is our recent Sabbath Convention in Chardon-Street Chapel. About fifty clergymen were present at various times, though scarcely one of them deigned to enroll his name as a member of the body. The champions in favor of the commonly received views of the Sabbath were nearly all new-organized abolitionists — viz., A. A. Phelps, (who spoke nearly four hours at one time, with a good deal of tact and spirit) — Nathaniel Colver, who exhibited his vulgarity and personal malice at full length — C. T. Torrey, who said very little to the purpose — Dr. Osgood, of Springfield, who reasoned fairly and in good temper. Luther Lee was also on hand, charged to the muzzle with "logic," but, unfortunately, he could not get an opportunity to fire it off. Bro. Hawley[1] was likewise anxious to give the anti-sabbatarians a blast, but failed to get the floor. J. V. Himes and P. R. Russell spoke at some length, in a declamatory manner, in favor of the Sabbath. The latter has discontinued his *Liberator*, and several others have done so, since the call of the Sabbath Convention was published in its columns; among them our friend John Smith, of Andover, (he has stopped two or three copies), who has virtually turned his back upon the anti-slavery cause, gone back to his pro-slavery minister Jackson, acknowledged his faults, and connected himself again with the church — and all to show his regard for religion, and his abhorrence of heretics!

MS.

Samuel Osgood.

Rev. Philemon R. Russell.

Phelps made the best argument in favor of the Sabbath at the Convention, but the foundation of it was a supposition, and the keystone an inference. I was sorry that I could get no opportunity to reply to him. On being pushed as to the meaning of the declaration, "There remaineth, therefore, a rest for the people of God," he said it meant the first day of the week!! Taylor, the "sailor preacher,"[2] behaved in a

Heb. iv. 9.

their platform, by the abolitionists, in ostensible regard for free speech, not only sadly interfered with their proceedings, but brought endless ridicule and misrepresentation upon them. Non-resistance also had here its practical disadvantages.

[1] Rev. Silas Hawley. He took a prominent part, as an anti-sectarian, in getting up the Groton Convention (*Lib.* 10:135; MS. Sept. 5, 1840, E. Quincy to H. C. Wright).

[2] Rev. Edward T. Taylor, commonly called Father Taylor, an eccentric Methodist clergyman, pastor of the Bethel Church in North Square, Boston,

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most outrageous manner, and exhibited a dreadfully malignant spirit. There was a great deal of rambling discussion, to very little purpose. Mrs. Folsom interrupted the proceedings continually, and spoke in a very disorderly manner. Mellen[1] had a word to say at the eleventh hour. But you will see the proceedings hereafter. The clergy are out now, every Sabbath, preaching it up as a divine institution; but he who is Lord of the Sabbath, and who is himself the true rest, will confound them.

Abigail Folsom.

Lib. 10:195.

Gen. Harrison is elected President by an overwhelming majority. At the late election, the great body of abolitionists violated their solemn pledges, and voted for party. George Bradburn at the East, and John Rankin at the West, did a great deal of harm by supporting Harrison. On Nantucket, there was but one scattering vote! Poor Birney, it is estimated, has received some five or six thousand votes out of two millions and a half! The farce is equally ludicrous and melancholy. Yet the *Emancipator*, *Friend of Man*, and *Abolitionist* seem determined to keep it up.

New organization is drooping to its death. Aside from the third-party movement in this State, it has no vitality. In our meetings, we denounce it as the worst form of pro-slavery.

N. P. Rogers.

Rogers has his hands full in New Hampshire, but he is a moral Richard Cœur de Lion, and gives his blows thick and fast. He writes both for the *Standard* and the *Herald of Freedom*.

O. Johnson.

Bro. Johnson has been in New York for some weeks past, and will probably remain there during the winter, superintending the *Standard*.

James C. Jackson is actively engaged in lecturing in western New York.[2] How they are getting along at New York, I do not know. In this State, we are doing almost nothing. We have not a single agent in the field — and yet this is the very season of the year when we ought to be up and doing. I lecture as often as I can conveniently, but it is very difficult for me to be absent from Boston. . . . .

Lib. 10:187, 191, 207.

Lib. 10:191.

I attended the State meeting of the Rhode Island A. S.

and one of the famous pulpit orators of that city. See Harriet Martineau's chapter on "Originals," in the second volume of her 'Retrospect of Western Travel.'

[1] Dr. G. W. F. Mellen, another deranged spirit, who became even more troublesome than Mrs. Folsom, because easily made the tool of those who enjoyed the fun of egging him on and disturbing anti-slavery meetings.

[2] He had, till relieved by Oliver Johnson, been doing yeoman service in editing the *Standard*.

Society at Providence, a few days since. It was pretty well attended, and passed some strong resolutions. Abby Kelley was present and spoke. CHAP. VIII. 1840.

Colver's malice did not cease with the Convention, in which he and Mr. Garrison participated on exactly equal terms, as invited and not as inviters, and as strenuous defenders of the Bible doctrine in regard to the Sabbath —as each interpreted it for himself. The same mail which carried the foregoing letter conveyed two from Colver to members of the London Committee, which, having been shown to Elizabeth Pease, she carefully copied, and sent her transcripts to the person they most nearly concerned. Immediately upon receipt of them, Mr. Garrison printed (with his own emphasizing) the following extracts: *MS. Dec. 24, 25, 1840, E. Pease to J. A. Collins.*

"BOSTON, Nov. 30, 1840. *Lib.* 11:19.

"Garrison has just headed *an infidel Convention*, gathered from different States, to call in question the validity of the Sabbath, the church and the ministry. It was quite a gathering, and I went in, with two or three other ministers, and discussed it with them for three days."

"BOSTON, Dec. 1, 1840.

"Wm. L. Garrison's influence is on the wane. He so identifies himself with *every infidel fanaticism* which floats, as to have lost his hold on the good. He has recently headed a Convention to inveigh against the Sabbath, the church and the ministry. It was affecting (!) to see what a company he had identified himself with — the wildest of the no-marriage Perfectionists (!!), Transcendentalists, and Cape Cod — all in harmonious effort *against the Bible* as our standard of faith, and especially in denouncing the ministry, etc. I think the anti-slavery cause will ultimately shake itself from that which has been a source of great trouble.

"J. A. Collins has, a few weeks since, left for England, *under suspicious circumstances* (!!) — What are his objects, we know not; but we fear, to *practise* some imposition upon British sympathy for our cause. *I hope you will beware of him* — HE IS NOT ENTITLED TO YOUR CONFIDENCE. Friends here feel deeply on the subject. Will you, if possible, ascertain what are his objects, and give us early notice?"

This tissue of falsehoods already appears in its true light to the attentive reader of what has gone before. Mr. Garrison resented it not only as a stab in the dark, intended to ruin his character among the abolitionists of England, but as a gross impertinence. "Whatever I may think of 'the Sabbath, the Church, and the Ministry,' it is not a matter that concerns abolitionists, and does not come within the 'appropriate sphere' of their approval or condemnation. Whoever will undertake to show that I am not an *Abolitionist*, will speak to a point that is pertinent, and not travel out of the record." As to the motive of Colver's defamation:

"Atrocious as it is, it does not excite any special surprise in my breast: for my acquaintance with the author, for the last two or three years, has fully satisfied me that he is a wolf in sheep's clothing — a bitter enemy of holiness — a practical unbeliever in the gospel — a stranger to the spirit of Christ — and unworthy of confidence or respect. This opinion he knows I have long entertained of him as a man and as a professed teacher of religion: for, having frequently brought him to the test of eternal truth, and clearly perceived the temper of his mind, I have felt it my duty to tell him, frankly and faithfully, what is my estimate of his character. My fidelity to him has greatly enraged him; and as there is no malignity like that of a corrupt priest when he finds that his mask of profession fails to conceal his moral deformity, it is perfectly natural that he should endeavor to revenge himself as opportunity may offer. My friends in England may rest assured that this pretended zeal of Nathaniel Colver for the institutions of religion, and this slanderous assault upon my religious views, proceed from *personal animosity* towards myself; nor would they be led astray by any false statements he might be disposed to make, if they knew him as well as he is known at home by those who are able to discriminate between the *form* of godliness and the *power* of it."[1]

[1] "Garrison," writes Elizabeth Pease to Collins, Dec. 25, 1840 (MS.), "[illegible] Indeed, let us know it; at all events, stronger evidence than [illegible] of N. Colver will be necessary to convince me of the fact. If [illegible] of all men most dangerous, for he exhibits the Christian [illegible] extent which I never saw displayed by any of these high-[illegible] Reverends."

We need not follow Mr. Garrison through all his exposure of Colver's romancing. Enough to cite here his comment on the allegation that "Garrison has just headed *an infidel convention*":

Lib. 11:19.

"Every word, every syllable in this sentence is untrue. No such convention has been held. I am as strongly opposed to 'infidelity' (as that term is commonly understood) as I am to priestcraft and slavery. My religious sentiments (excepting as they relate to certain outward forms and observances, and respecting these I entertain the views of 'Friends'), are as rigid and uncompromising as those promulgated by Christ himself. The standard which he has erected is one that I reverence and advocate. In a true estimate of the divine authority of the Scriptures, no one can go beyond me. They are my text-book, and worth all other books in the universe. My trust is in God, my aim to walk in the footsteps of his Son, my rejoicing to be crucified to the world, and the world to me. So much for the charge of 'infidelity.'"

MS. Nov. 9, *Dec.* [10], 1840, *E. Pease to Collins. MS. Nov.* —, 6, *Collins to Stuart; Nov.* 7, *Stuart to Collins.*

Here we must take leave of the subject of poisoning the English mind against Mr. Garrison — an operation in which Birney and Stanton,[1] after his departure, had been active, with the zealous coöperation of Captain Stuart, who renewed his warfare on the old organization in the persons of Collins and Remond.[2]

[1] "Mr. Birney returned in the *Great Western*, a few days since. I see that he and Stanton have taken a pretty extensive tour through England, Scotland and Ireland; and I am glad that they have been so well received as American abolitionists" (MS. Dec. 1, 1840, W. L. G. to E. Pease).

[2] Stuart, brought to book by John Murray, specified these grounds of his present hostility to his old friend Garrison: "He is an abolitionist when he can get others to adopt his *woman-rights* notions; but until then, the rights (as he conscientiously deems them) of woman drown in his ear the cry of the slave — witness his conduct at the London Convention. He is an abolitionist; but he does all that he can to discredit or destroy one of the most dutiful and powerful means for the deliverance of the slave, *i. e.*, faithfulness to duty at the elections — thereby giving over the Government completely to the hands of the slave party. By his plan the Government is left secured in all its evils, and shorn of all its good, in these emergencies when its interference is most vitally needed. . . . But he has developed two other features as new, or as unknown formerly, as the above; both of which my whole soul utterly condemns. These are his rejection of the Christian Sabbath, as commonly held in the churches; and his rejection of a regularly educated and supported ministry" (MS. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Nov. 15, 1840, copied by Murray in a letter to Collins, Bowling

Lib. 10: 199. Despite the hue-and-cry of "infidelity" raised against the *Liberator* and its editor; despite the precarious condition of the American Society and its new organ; and notwithstanding the flat condition of the cause everywhere, in consequence of the overpowering political interest, the close of the year found Mr. Garrison in a cheerful if not exalted state of mind.[1] We see it not only in the elasticity with which he met the fresh blows showered upon him, but in the renewed activity of his muse — this last being also a sign of good physical condition. No fewer than five sonnets proceeded from *Lib.* 10: 199, 207; 11: 3, 4. him in December — partly contributed to the *Liberator*, and partly to the *Liberty Bell*, the annual publication of the Anti-Slavery Fair, under the auspices of Mrs. Chapman. We can fancy him composing them on his lonely midnight walks across the long bridge to Cambridge, over the Charles River. These two, the best of the five, if not at his high-water mark, have, perhaps, a claim to be quoted:

SONNET TO LIBERTY.

Lib. 11: 4; *Writings of W. L. G.*, p. 135.

They tell me, LIBERTY! that, in thy name,
I may not plead for all the human race;
That some are born to bondage and disgrace,
Some to a heritage of woe and shame,
And some to power supreme, and glorious fame.
With my whole soul I spurn the doctrine base,
And, as an equal brotherhood, embrace
All people, and for all fair freedom claim!
Know this, O man! whate'er thy earthly fate —
GOD NEVER MADE A TYRANT, NOR A SLAVE:
Woe, then, to those who dare to desecrate
His glorious image! — for to all He gave
Eternal rights, which none may violate;
And, by a mighty hand, th' oppressed He yet shall save.

Bay, Dec. 23, 1840). See, for Mr. Garrison's views of the clerical office, which were not those of Friends, *Lib.* 11: 26.

[1] "The *Liberator*," writes E. Quincy (MS. Dec. 31, 1840) to Collins, "has come out remarkably well under the new arrangement. The expenses have been all cleared off — mainly by the subscriptions. Andrew Robeson,

SONNET

On completing my thirty-fifth year, Dec. 10, 1840.

If to the age of threescore years and ten,
  God of my life! thou shalt my term prolong,
  Still be it mine to reprobate all wrong,
And save from woe my suffering fellow-men.
Whether, in Freedom's cause, my voice or pen
  Be used by Thee, who art my boast and song,
  To vindicate the weak against the strong,
Upon my labors rest Thy benison!
O! not for Afric's sons alone I plead,
  Or her descendants; but for all who sigh
In servile chains, whate'er their caste or creed:
  They not in vain to Heaven send up their cry;
For all mankind from bondage shall be freed,
And from the earth be chased all forms of tyranny.

Lib. 10:207; *Writings of W. L. G.*, *p.* 142.

The retrospect from the beginning, on this thirty-fifth birthday, may well have astounded the still youthful founder of the anti-slavery movement. But passing from the romance of his own career to the events of the twelvemonth just closing, there was much to stimulate his ardor for the fray. The new gag applied by Congress in January[1] had stirred again in Massachusetts the spirit of resistance to tyranny, leading to another vigorous protest, by the Legislature, against the denial of the right of petition, and to resolutions urging Congress to abolish the domestic slave trade "without delay," and to decree the *immediate* abolition of slavery in the District — this last resolve being adopted almost unani-

Lib. 10:6, 23, 31.

Lib. 10:43.

Lib. 10:49, 51.

with whom I spent night before last (being in New Bedford, lecturing before the Lyceum on the Quakers), gave me $150 for G., which paid off the arrears of his salary for last year, and quite set him on his legs again. I think next year it will nearly if not quite support itself."

[1] In the House, offered by Wm. Cost Johnson of Maryland, to wit: "That no petition, memorial, resolution, or other paper, praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or any State or Territory, or the slave trade between the States or Territories of the United States in which it now exists, shall be received by this House, or entertained in any way whatever." The vote was 114 yeas to 108 nays. The Senate followed suit (*Lib.* 10:31).

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mously in the House.[1] The State law prohibiting mixed marriages narrowly escaped being repealed, and the first step was taken towards protecting the colored seamen of Massachusetts against outrageous oppression in Southern ports. In party politics, Henry Clay had, as we have seen, lost his nomination at the hands of the anti-slavery Whigs; and while Harrison, it is true, had received the support of the same wing in the Convention and at the polls, at least the evil was not conceivably greater than would have been Van Buren's reëlection.

Ante, *pp.* 79, 104.

Ante, *p.* 282.

The Third Party, meantime, had been defeated in its endeavor to capture the national anti-slavery organization, although successful with some of the State and many of the local societies which the spirit of New Organization had invaded. It had likewise cut a sorry figure in the election. From the point of view of the Philadelphia Declaration of Sentiments it was a foreordained failure. Though one of the products, it was not the heir of the movement begun in 1833, to which its inception was well-nigh fatal. Its rise marks the end of the expansion of the purely moral organization of the anti-slavery sentiment of the country. Never afterwards were there so many societies, or so large a membership, or such a powerful pulsation in the enterprise. Though the fourteenth resolution adopted by the Liberty Party at Albany professed not to undervalue or forget moral instrumentalities, and urged the maintenance of these by abolitionists, it was overridden by the ninth resolution, which declared that the only hope of peaceful abolition lay in the ballot — *i. e.*, in separate political organization. In like manner, the pretence, in the preamble, of direct descent from the American Anti-Slavery Society[2] was nullified by the omission of any allusion to the doctrine of immediatism. And whereas Mr. Garrison,

Lib. 10: 22, 23, 86, 110, 186.

Emancipator, 4: 198.

[1] Vermont adopted similar resolutions (*Lib.* 10: 183, 185).

[2] "Whereas, large bodies of freemen, in the United States, have adopted the pledge embodied in the Constitution of the American A. S. Society, 'to do all that is lawfully in our power to bring about the extinction of slavery,' etc." (*Emancipator*, 4: 198).

in his abolition propaganda, had been cruelly maligned with false charges of "sifting in" extraneous doctrines, the new party began at once to "sift in" on its own account, in these vague terms of its tenth resolution: CHAP. VIII. 1840.

"*Resolved*, That while we consider the abolition of slavery as paramount to all other questions of national politics, and have nominated, and expect to nominate and to elect, with a special view to this vital question, we by no means lose sight of numerous other questions in which all who are to be affected, directly or indirectly, by our Government are deeply interested; and we consider that our fundamental principle, to wit, that *all men* within its jurisdiction are, *as men*, entitled to an equal participation in the benefits of our Government, does decide all these questions in favor of the general good, by deciding them in favor of the widest and largest liberty that can flourish under just laws." *Emancipator*, 4: 198.

This was the price of a vice-presidential candidate whose hobby was anti-monopoly. A year later, the State Liberty Party Convention of Massachusetts recommended the approaching National Convention to "consider and publish a full and explicit declaration of the principles of the Liberty Party, rejecting all points on which a good degree of union cannot be secured, by moderation and mutual concession." So far already had the party moved away from the simple test of adhesion to the doctrine of immediate emancipation. Moreover, the same State Convention debated resolutions which they almost unanimously approved (though deeming it expedient not to pass them, but to refer them to the national body), and which embraced such extraneous topics as "Corn Laws," "Emigration from Foreign Countries," "Home Manufactures and Tariff," "The Banking System," "Cotton Manufactures," "Reciprocity in Trade," "Economy in Expenditures." As if an anti-climax were still needed, respectful reference was given to two resolutions recommending the abolition of the poll-tax, and the election of sheriffs, coroners, and justices of the peace by the people! *Ante*, p. 343; *Lib.* 10: 87, 174.

[*Mass. Abol.*] *Free American*, 3: 11.

Ibid.

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Such a party, it is superfluous to say, was not, and could not be, the antipode of the Slave Power. That distinction remained to the Garrisonian abolitionists. Their moral warfare was conditioned by none of the clogs of party — neither by fealty to the Constitution of the United States, nor by ends conformable to that instrument, such as abolition in the District and other Territories, the suppression of the inter-State slave trade, and the exclusion of new slave States from the Union; nor by considerations of numbers. "A political contest," said the editor of the *Liberator*, "differs essentially from one that is moral. In the latter, one may chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight. In the former, profligacy and virtue, good and evil, right and wrong, meet on equal terms. Success depends wholly on numerical superiority." A political party, furthermore, must have its prizes of office. "*All* are invited to join," wrote James C. Jackson to Francis Jackson, "for *all* can have the privilege of struggling for promotion. The ladder is made for *all*, and *all* are invited to commence its ascent," whether for a town office or for something higher. "Can any man tell," he asked, "what increase of power, moral power, William Goodell would have by which to abolish slavery, if he were elected to the office of roadmaster in the ancient and honorable village of Whitesboro'?"

Lib. 11:7.

Lib. 11:22.

Finally, a party must have its exclusive candidates, and cannot tolerate support of its *principles* in the person of a candidate of another party. Thus, the reëlection of N. B. Borden, a vice-president of the Massachusetts Society and president of the Fall River Anti-Slavery Society, who had already been a Representative in Congress, was opposed by the Liberty Party, professedly because, as an anti-slavery man, he deemed it wiser to vote for Harrison than for Birney. More extraordinary efforts to defeat him could not have been made if he had been an avowed apologist for slavery:

Ante, p. 311.

"New Organization," said Mr. Garrison, "had mustered as many clerical politicians as possible to harangue the people of the Tenth District, in opposition to the claims of Mr. Borden. . . . There were Rev. Messrs. Torrey, Cummings, Lee, Phelps, Denison, Leavitt,—all in a row! We believe 'the business of a politician' to be a very poor and paltry one, and the less a minister of the gospel has to do with it, the better. Is there one man in the United States—in the whole world—who can honestly and truly affirm, before God, that by becoming a politician he has improved his manners or morals, his head or his heart, or has elevated the tone of his piety, or felt new emotions of spiritual life? If so, we have yet to see that man. Are there not thousands of good men who have a far different confession to make?" *Lib.* 11:11.

A further distinction between the new anti-slavery method and the old, and a very significant one, lay in the fact that the Liberty Party necessarily divorced itself from that foreign philanthropic alliance which Mr. Garrison had established in 1833. A Thompson coming over to speak for it, and to help elect its candidates, from coroner to President, and to promote its policy with reference to the Constitution and laws on the subject of slavery, would have exposed himself to national and popular resentment which would not have been without excuse. This was what Thompson himself, Stuart, and Cropper had deprecated. The sending over of material assistance, "British gold," would have aroused yet livelier hostility to the new party. The abolitionists, on the other hand, continued to draw upon the moral sympathy of the world for objects which remained purely moral. Their funds were recruited as before on both sides of the Atlantic, and their national organ was sustained largely by the proceeds of goods furnished annually from Great Britain, and disposed of at the anti-slavery bazaars. The chapters which are to follow will show how indispensable this international coöperation was. *Ante*, 1:443, 444.

On the assumption that the Liberty Party was the progenitor of the Republican Party which gave the

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finishing-stroke to slavery, Mr. Garrison's opposition to the former has been pronounced both unworthy of him, and a striking evidence of his want of prevision. Those who have read the present narrative of its origin must conclude that he had no choice but to oppose the *alter ego* of New Organization. Those who read beyond, whether in this biography or in general histories of the ante-bellum period, will find the same men who in 1840 nominated Birney against Van Buren and against Harrison, nominating Van Buren as the Free-Soil candidate of 1848. They will find the anti-slavery policy of the Free-Soil Convention of 1852 summed up in resistance to the extension of slavery and to Federal fugitive-slave laws. But not till they consult the proceedings of the Peace Conference at Washington in February, 1861; the contemporaneous propositions of the Senate Committee of Thirteen and House Committee of Thirty-three; and the subsequent vote of both Houses for an amendment to the Constitution forbidding Congress ever to interfere with slavery in the States (a majority of the Republicans assenting) — will they realize how utterly spurious was the claim of the founders of the Liberty Party to be the true channel of succession for the principles first formulated by William Lloyd Garrison.

Stanwood's Hist. Presidential Elections, p. 188.

McPherson's Polit. Hist. Rebellion, pp. 52–72.

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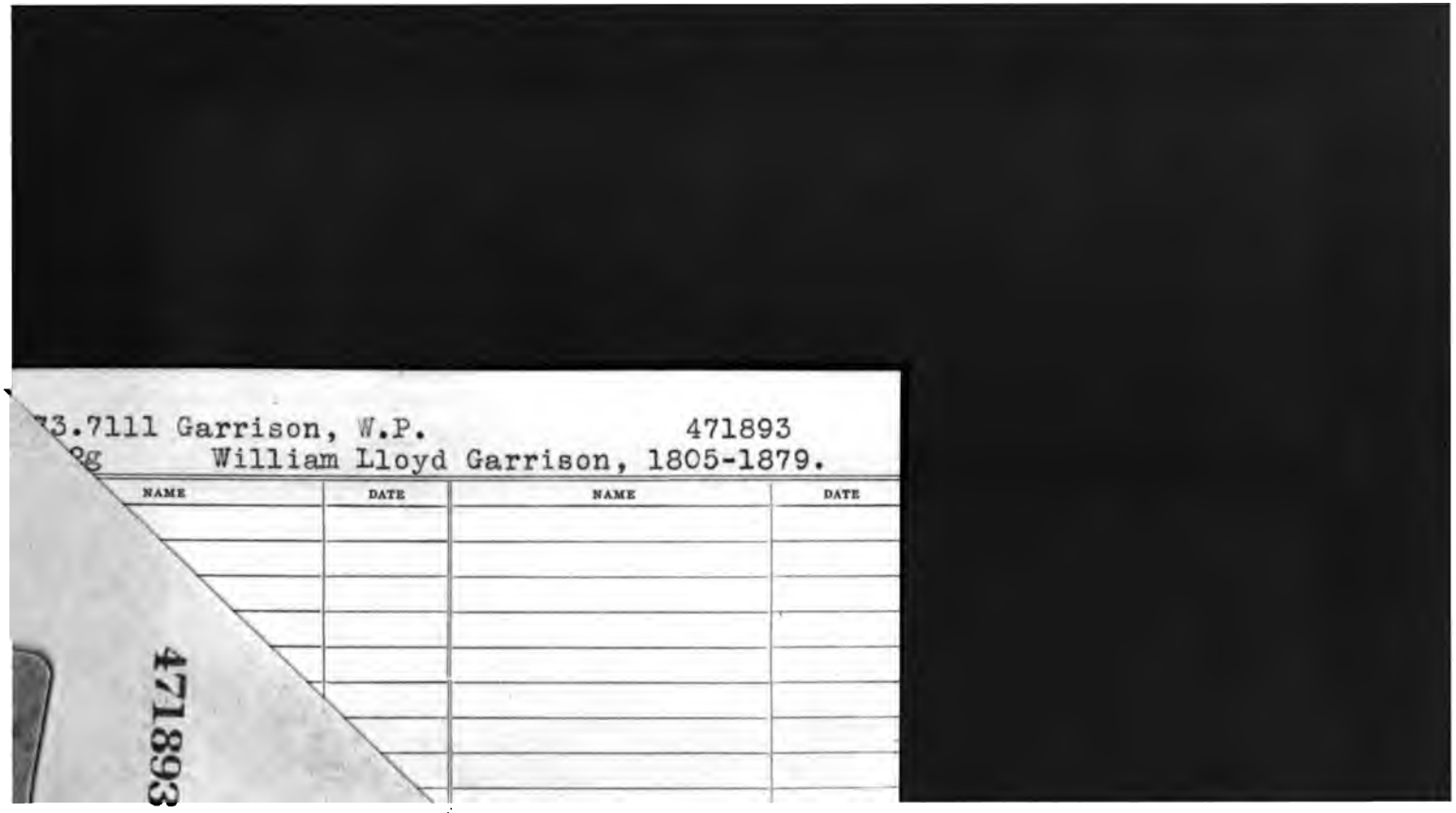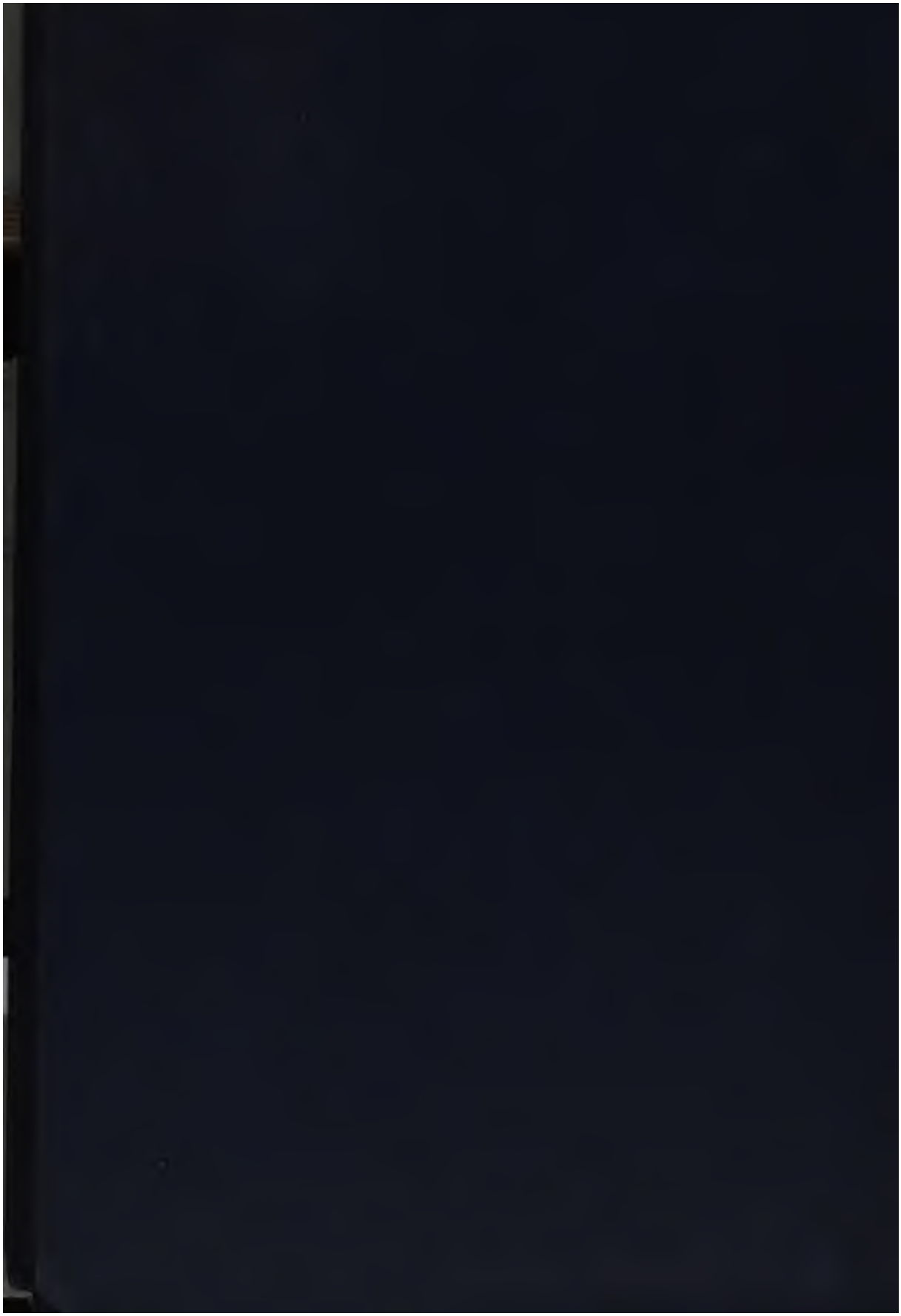
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